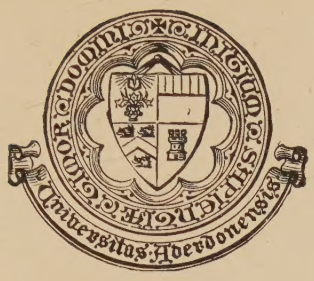
R. Sinkler.
Trinity College.
Nov. 9, 1906.




# Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces

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PLATE IX.

THE GREAT HITTITE ALTAR, ESKI-KISHLA (T. CALLANDER).

*To face page 176.*

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# Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire

EDITED FOR

THE QUATERCENTENARY

OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

BY

W. M. Ramsay

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# PREFACE.

This collection of papers was planned less than a year ago; and the writers have been occupied in other engrossing and inevitable work, which alone might seem to require their undivided attention. The leisure which could be given to this book was scanty, and in July it seemed hardly possible to get it ready in time. Only by the hearty co-operation of the Aberdeen University Press, and by the lavish use of the right of correction of the proof-sheets, has it been possible to complete for the Quatercentenary this specimen of the work of our students. Nine writers began: seven only have finished. A. Souter, M.A., 1893, gave much time to a collection of the Christian Inscriptions of Lycaonia (which would have been the longest paper in the volume); but in June he had to go abroad for three months to collate MSS. of Pelagius. By prefixing and appending some English, Latin and Greek verses, I have been able to add W. Blair Anderson, M.A., 1898, as an eighth: his omission from the seven was due to the loss of a letter. The Proödos and the first Epodos were published in the *Bookman*, and are reprinted through the courtesy of the editor,

W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., 1870, Hon. LL.D., 1890. The others were prize epigrams in Cambridge.

British research in Asia Minor from 1880 to 1894 was carried on through endowments in Oxford aided by the Asia Minor Exploration Fund, which was mainly subscribed there. From 1894 to 1896 it nearly ceased. In 1897 it revived with the election of the first Wilson Fellow in this University, and it has since depended chiefly on the Wilson Fellowship, supplemented by various benefactors and to some extent by the Carnegie Trust, and by considerable private expenditure of some of the explorers. From first to last a very large part of both exploration and publication has been done by Aberdeen graduates who also studied in Oxford.

Four of the seven writers have taken part to some degree in the exploration which furnished the raw material for this and other books. That opportunity is not given to all. Such have been the difficulties, chiefly through lack of funds, that since 1883 the present writer has only once been able to contemplate in any year the prospect of travelling in the following year, and to lay out a plan of exploration extending over two seasons. But in one way or another the work has gone on, frequently seeming to be at an end, yet always continued for one more journey, throughout twenty-seven years.

Real research in ancient literature for the enlargement of our knowledge of ancient life has not been much encouraged

or approved by public opinion in Scotland. The researcher is supposed to be wasting time which he should employ in the teaching of elementary pupils. The very name of research is in popular use degraded, and endowments for research are applied to aid pupils to complete their education by studying at foreign Universities—an excellent thing, but not research. In France and Germany, but not in Britain, it is known that for research in ancient history there are needed, not only brains and learning, but also money. The penalty for the production of this volume may be that exploration has to be discontinued for a year.

We venture to lay before the University and the distinguished guests, both strangers and graduates, who come to greet its entrance on the fifth century of work, a sample of the research that has been performed in one line alone of classical study by its students. It was the writer's wish to compile a bibliography of Asia Minor exploration during the last twenty-seven years: such a bibliography is a real desideratum on account of the mass and the dispersion of the recent writings about that country, but this volume could not have appeared in time if the compilation had been included. The bibliography would show in statistics that, notable as have been the writings in that department of a series of excellent scholars, many of whose names are now household words in the world of learning, the bulk at any rate of the work of the Asia Minor Exploration Fund equals the bulk of all the

rest, even taking into account the stately German folios on Pergamon, Lycia, etc., and the beautiful French volumes on Myrina.

The eighth paper is a historical sketch: the others contain the materials out of which history is hereafter to be constructed.

The sketch map facing p. 362 illustrates the first, fifth, seventh, eighth and ninth papers.

The index gives a conspectus of the information here for the first time accumulated about the society and life of a little known country, which played a leading part in the development of civilisation for more than 2,000 years, which was once the wealthiest country in the world through the skilful use of its soil and may again become one of the wealthiest through the re-creation of its agriculture.

W. M. RAMSAY.

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## BION DEAD.

From Moschus, *Id.* III.

O mountain glens, O rivers, O Dorian water clear,
Now mourn with me for Bion, the lovely and the dear ;
Blush red, O rose, for sorrow, and thou, anemone ;
O springing grass, O woodland, lament for him with me.

Among the herds that loved him no more he sits and plays,
Fluting beneath the oak-trees through the long summer days ;
But in the house of Hades another strain he sings
To still the unquiet voices of half-remembered things ;
And silent is the hillside, save where, forlorn and slow,
Caring no more to pasture, his lowing heifers go.

Ah me ! though in the garden the mallows' life is brief,
Though fades the fresh green parsley, and the curling anise leaf ;
Yet tender Spring returning shall bring them in her train,
And in a second summer they live and bloom again ;
But we, the strong, the powerful, we mighty men and wise,
When once we die, shall never at call of Spring arise,
But lapped in heavy silence in hollow earth shall keep
Through night that knows no morning an unawaking sleep.

A. Margaret Ramsay.

# I.

# ISAURIAN AND EAST-PHRYGIAN ART IN THE THIRD AND FOURTH CENTURIES AFTER CHRIST.

A. MARGARET RAMSAY.

# ISAURIAN AND EAST-PHRYGIAN ART IN THE THIRD AND FOURTH CENTURIES AFTER CHRIST.*

## INTRODUCTION.

Rome's first appearance in the field of Eastern politics had been as the champion of the Greeks and of purer Greek culture against the only half-Hellenic power of the Seleucid Syrian monarchy. And this attitude she steadily maintained throughout the period of her greatest ascendancy: in the East the Romans identified themselves with Hellenic civilisation, culture and spirit, and wherever the Roman arms conquered, this Western or Hellenic influence was superimposed upon the subjugated countries.

But in the sphere at least of art, the vigour of the pure Hellenic spirit had died away before the commencement of the Christian era. Greek art in the service of Rome was characterised by great technical skill, but was no longer pure Greek. In the first three centuries after Christ, however, there can be traced a reincarnation of the artistic spirit, which passes through a regular course of development widely differing both in aim and in form from the art of the earlier age.

The question, then, arises: To what were due this revival and this transformation of the artistic spirit? Was Rome the centre of influence, and the motive power by which it was diffused throughout

* The following paper is due entirely to the suggestion, advice and guidance of my father, especially in all questions of date and period. But he wishes me to say that he has given me simply the same help that he has already given to many and is anxious to give to others still.

the subject countries of the Empire? Or must we ascribe the new movement to some other source?

Two entirely opposite answers are offered to this question. The older and more widely accepted view is that of Wickhoff, who ascribes it altogether to the influence of Rome. The other view, which has been most definitely advanced by Prof. Strzygowski in his *Orient oder Rom* and *Kleinasien ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte* is that the change was due entirely to Oriental influence. It may be well to pause here for a moment and review the situation at the time, in respect of the relations between Roman and Oriental influence.

The city of Rome had attained her zenith as the dominating power of the world shortly before the commencement of the Christian era. But even during the first century after Christ it is possible to see the beginning of that gradual shifting of the centre of gravity from West to East which culminated at last in the establishment of the Byzantine Empire. Little by little, Rome ceases to be "the heart and brain and seat of life of the Empire". The provinces, and especially the Eastern provinces, grow steadily in importance, reassert their own individuality, and refuse any longer to accept unquestioningly the authority and the tone of Rome. And this new feeling, this uprising and self-assertion of the East against the dominance of the West, found its clearest expression in the spread of Christianity; for "in Christianity the provinces conquered Rome and re-created the Empire". It was during the second century that this new spirit became so marked as to attract the notice of contemporaries.*

Now the revival and fresh lines of development of art synchronise, as Prof. Strzygowski has pointed out, with this reaction against Western influence. Hellenic culture, Hellenic feeling, had been spread over the East, and superimposed upon Oriental feeling and civilisation; but the Eastern spirit survived still, grew stronger as Western influence was dissipated and weakened, remoulded and

* The quotations in this paragraph are from an article by Prof. W. M. Ramsay on the "Acts of the Apostles" in the *Homiletic Review*, 1900, p. 4 ff.

Orientalised the vanishing Græco-Roman art, and finally produced the early Christian and Byzantine art. And this new development was, as Prof. Strzygowski holds, the expression on the artistic side of the same movement which was manifested in its religious, and afterwards in its political aspect, as the growth and spread of Christianity—the reaction and self-assertion of the East against the West, resulting in a fusion of Oriental and Græco-Roman culture, forming a new compound coloured by both. The Græco-Roman art of the first century, *i.e.*, Greek art adapted to Roman feeling and serving Roman uses, grew weaker and poorer in the second century ; and in the third century new artistic forms can be traced as they established themselves in popular use in the Eastern provinces.

Now if, as Wickhoff maintained, the new forms that arose and formed the Christian art of Asia Minor had really been an importation from Rome, one might naturally expect to find a more or less close resemblance between the artistic forms and schemes of ornament appearing on the monuments of different districts. If on the other hand it can be shown that each district has a definite scheme appearing almost uniformly on its own monuments, and differing radically from that which was used in other districts, the theory of a native origin would be strongly corroborated. To show that this is true of the monuments of certain districts of Phrygia and Lycaonia is the object of the present article.

It has already been observed, both by Prof. Ramsay and by others, that certain artistic forms are peculiar to certain districts of Asia Minor. In many places these have persisted from ancient times down almost to the present day. Thus on the carpets and embroideries woven at the village of Ladik (the ancient Laodiceia Katakekaumene), nine hours north of Iconium, until the middle of last century, when the old manufacture ceased, there appears a vase of one special shape, while another of a different form is peculiar to the carpets made at Mudjur in Cappadocia. In another village of Lycaonia, every carpet and embroidery is marked by a row of little

houses. The same is the case with the patterns used in several other places: I am told by friends that the carpets still woven at Kara-Bunar are recognisable at a glance by those who know the pattern characteristic of the district. Similarly, we found and purchased at Dorla (Nova Isaura) a piece of old embroidery, handed down for generations in a family of the village, which shows the same scheme of ornament and several of the same decorative details as the sepulchral monuments of the place. I gave an account of these monuments in a paper published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1904, pp. 260 ff., and advanced arguments to show that a native and indigenous art can be traced in Asia Minor in the Imperial time. A number of the more interesting and important of these Isauran * monuments are republished in Section ii. of the present article, as they form an essential part of the argument.

## I. THE ISAURIAN HILL COUNTRY.

The first series of monuments belong, roughly speaking, to the district known as Bozkir. The name is given as Bozghyr by M. Mendel in an article on the monuments in the Konia Museum, *B.C.H.*, 1902, to which it gives me pleasure to acknowledge that I am greatly indebted. M. Mendel apparently regards it as a village. It is, however, a large district. No authority gives its precise bounds, but it lies round about the great city of Isaura Palaea.

The first three monuments (Nos. 1-3) are now in the museum at Konia, whither they have been brought from different places. But the close resemblance of the decoration and workmanship proves that they were sculptured in the same place and probably in the same workshop. The ornament of the front is very complex, and its character can be gathered better from the accompanying drawings and photographs than from a verbal description. The scheme is identical in all three—four fluted columns (with bases the same,

* *Isauran* relates to the city Isaura, *Isaurian* to the country Isauria.

but capitals varying in form), supporting a central triangular pediment flanked by two round arches, within each of which is a shell-like ornament. The outer columns are square, with straight fluting, the inner are round and the fluting is twisted. The spaces between them are occupied by figures, the central niche in Nos. 1 and 2 containing a representation of a funeral banquet, that in No. 3 a horseman. All are solid rectangular blocks, sculptured on all four sides, the ornament on the short sides being in every case a single pediment supported by two square columns, between which figures are standing: the arrangement being similar to No. 4 B and C.

This class of stone is similar in form to the monuments found at Dorla (see § ii.), a simple solid block. The Dorla monuments are sculptured only on one side. These are sculptured on all four sides (No. 4 on three sides); and the ornamentation is of a more elaborate type, and of a later age. If the Dorla monuments belong to the period 260-340, these would have to be assigned to the latter part of the century 340-400; but it is quite probable that the dates should be placed earlier, Dorla 240-300, and these early in the fourth or late in the third century. M. Mendel seems to take the latter view about these three monuments (*l.c.*, pp. 232-45), though he does not state a period quite distinctly.

1. This stone, which cannot be traced beyond Konia itself, has already been published, with photograph, by M. Mendel, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1902, pp. 225, 226.* It is, as has already been stated, a solid rectangular block, and was probably sculptured all round; but one of the short sides is entirely gone and the other much defaced, though it is possible to see that it was decorated with the usual schema of the arch supported on columns. The back, on which there seems to be some sculpture, is hidden against a wall.

ἡ δεῖνα Στ]έφανον τὸν ἄνδρα [. . .
μνήμης [χάριν κὲ] Μέμνονα
κὲ] Μασούαν κὲ Φρόντωνα.

* He reads –PANONON, but the second N should be *liée* with T.

The text cannot be certainly restored : a woman honoured (ἐκόσμησεν or ἐτείμησεν) her husband Stephanus and several friends.

The photograph here published is too faint, but can be helped out by the sketches. It had to be taken in side view, on account of the position of the stone in the Museum, and thus the end distant from the camera is somewhat distorted.

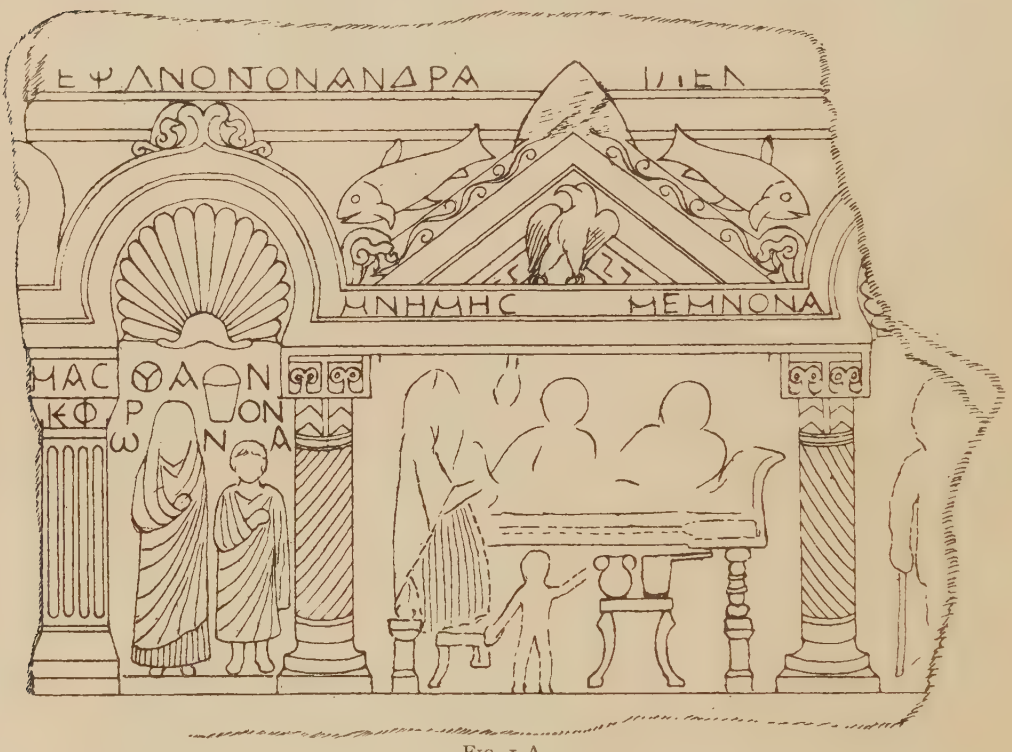



Fig. 1 A.

M. Mendel is of opinion that the fish on either side of the central pediment do not in this case seem to be Christian. But the Christian symbolism of Lycaonia, which was almost unknown at the time he wrote, has since been much further investigated, and the fish, taken in conjunction with the name Stephanos, seem to show that this tombstone is of Christian character. The name, which was not

PLATE I.

FIG. 1 B.—IN THE OTTOMAN IMPERIAL MUSEUM AT KONIA.

*To face page* 8.

deciphered by M. Mendel, occurs in Lycaonian inscriptions which are undoubtedly Christian.

The representation of the sepulchral banquet, a pagan ceremony in origin, does not prove that the monument was of pagan origin. M. Waddington has observed that the pagan ideas of the future world are often embodied in the earlier Christian inscriptions,* and this will be exemplified in a number of the monuments published in this volume. There is, however, nothing openly idolatrous in the representation on the present tombstone. Moreover, while a Christian origin is claimed for it, it is not asserted that the artist was working specially to express purely Christian ideas, but only that he was working in a region thoroughly Christianised for a society whose religion was Christian. The artists made these monuments for sale, and not for some special individual or family ;† and they thought only of making good and ornate monuments. They used old pagan motives freely, and art only gradually made itself strictly and entirely Christian in appearance. A mixture of Christian and pagan forms marks the earlier Christian works. Probably many Christian works have hitherto escaped notice, owing to the presence of pagan elements in them.

A defaced ornament hanging above the heads of the banqueters in the central panel may perhaps represent a bunch of grapes, a symbol not uncommon on Christian tombstones ; it is however too much defaced to admit of certainty. In front of the table at which the banqueters are seated is the small figure of an attendant, and beside him are a jar and a long-handled cooking pot standing on a smaller table. The table with vase and pot is an extremely common ornament on gravestones of Lycaonia (see No. 5 and many in § 4).

Under the left-hand arch are the figures of a woman and a boy,

* Prof. W. M. Ramsay mentions this to me, but is unable to give the exact reference.

† Some exceptions occur, *e.g.*, the famous monument of Avircius, in Phrygia, and No. 7 in this paper at Dorla.

above whose heads is an object of uncertain character, possibly a covered basket, or a basket with curved handle.

Beneath the other arch, where the stone is broken away, there seems to have been represented a man leaning on a stick.

2. This stone, also described by M. Mendel, *B.C.H.*, 1902, p. 227, and now in the museum in Konia, was seen by Prof. W. M. Ramsay in 1882 in a private house in the town, and was said to have been brought from a village in the mountainous region, about eight hours south-west from Konia on the frontier of Isauria and Pisidia. When Prof. Ramsay read out the inscription on the stone, which mentions that one of the persons commemorated was a native of Kilistra, the owner, who was a Greek, said that the village still retains its ancient name and that the stone had been brought from that neighbourhood. The remarkable Christian rock monuments of Kilistra were visited by Sir Charles Wilson and Prof. Ramsay immediately afterwards, and again in 1885 by Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett, who has briefly described them in his *Wolfe Exped.*, p. 159.

Both the short sides and the back of this monument are sculptured as well as the front, but all are much defaced. The sides have single pediments supported by two columns, in this case plain instead of fluted. Figures stand in the niches between them. On the back are a man and a woman to the left, to the right an inscription framed in a vine with leaves and clusters of grapes.

[ἡ δεῖνα ἐκόσμησεν τὸν ἄνδρα. . . .]
κὲ Ἀντώνιον κὲ Ἀπίαν ἀδ[ελφ]οὺς καὶ Ἄττα-
Κιλιστρέα φίλον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λον
μνήμης χάριν.

There is a gap between A and N in the name Ἀπίαν, which Prof. Sterrett and M. Mendel fill up by reading Ἀπια[νό]ν. But the gap is caused by the now defaced ornament which crowned the central pediment, and no letters have been lost. M. Mendel restores [λον] at the end of line 1, not observing that these letters were added at the end of line 2, where he places them again unexplained. There

is no visible room for the exordium as restored here ; but it is necessary for the sense (as shown in the following paragraph).

On the back is the inscription in four lines, not explained by the previous editors, Τροκόνδας κὲ Οὐανγδίβασσιν τὰ θρεπτά, *i.e.*, the foster children (or adopted children) Trokondas and Vangdibassin. The second name is typically Isaurian, and would alone be almost

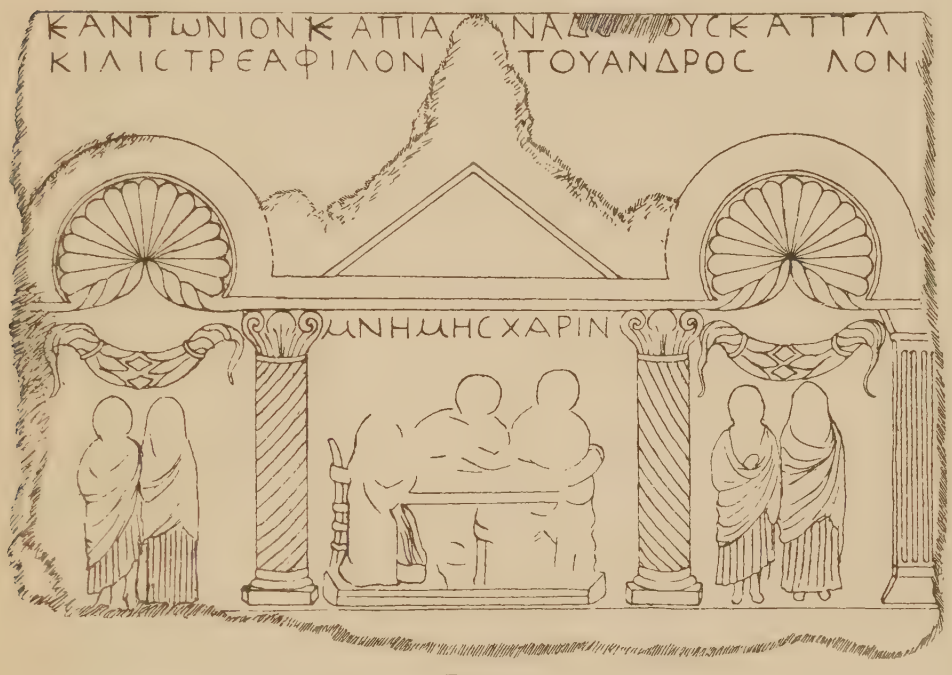



Fig. 2.

enough to prove the Isaurian origin of the monument : see Mr. Cronin's remarks in *J.H.S.*, 1902, p. 345.

The adopted sons are mentioned as joining in the making of the tomb : there was no room for them on the front of the stone. The text cannot be restored exactly, but it stated that a woman made the tomb for her husband and two brothers and a friend of her husband. There cannot be many words missing, and therefore no

children can have been mentioned, which (considering the custom of the country) must be taken as a proof that the pair were childless and adopted two sons.

3. Published with photograph and description by M. Mendel, *B.C.H.*, 1902, pp. 227, 228, and said there to be from Kawak, five hours south from Konia, and one hour east of Khatyn Serai (Lystra).

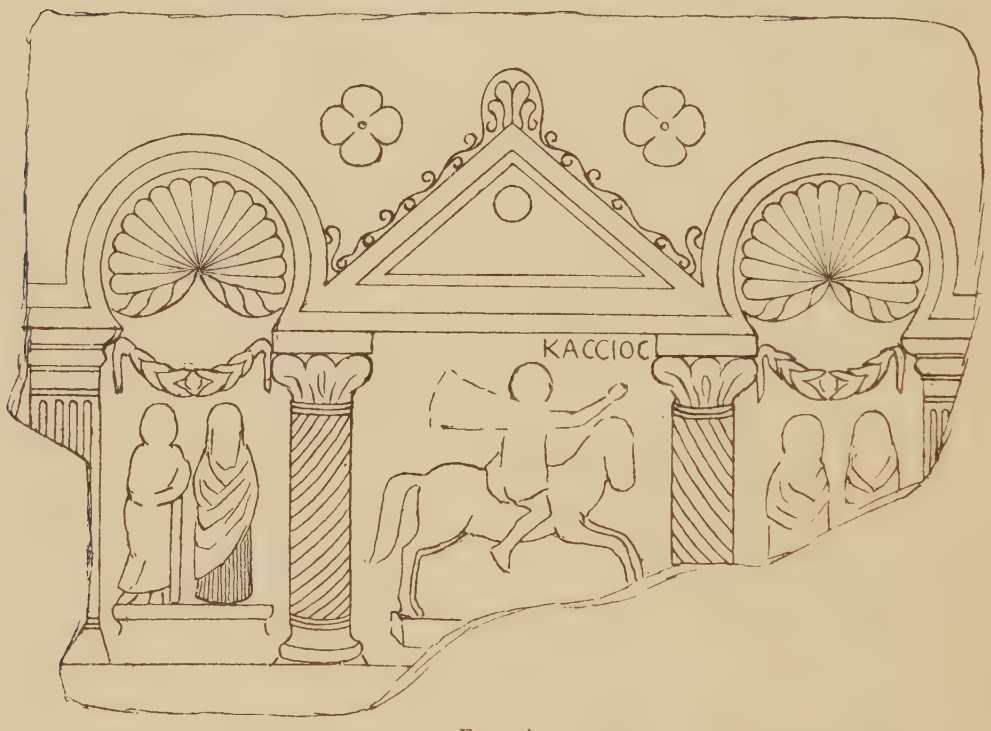



Fig. 3 A.

There are, however, several villages of this name, and the stone may come from another in Boz-Kir, distant about eighteen hours from Konia. Now in the Museum, Konia.

The central space is occupied by the figure of a horseman, his right arm raised and his cloak flying behind him. In each of the side niches are a man and a woman, the former leaning on a staff.

On the back of the stone is a curious ornament (Fig. 3 B), a standing figure, probably winged, having instead of arms two long wreaths which are not suspended from anything at the ends, but turn down in two hooks. With this rude figure compare Fig. 4 A.

On each of the two short sides is a single pediment supported

Fig. 3 B.

by two columns, between which stand a man and a woman, under a wreath hanging from the capitals. In one pediment is the name ANTωNIOC, just under it, and above the wreath, NANNIωC. On the other side are the letters TAC beside the man's head to the left, TATA above the wreath over the woman's. One column is decorated with a trailing branch (Fig. 3 C), and a scrap of similar

Fig. 3 C.

ornament appears on one of the columns of the opposite side. The other two are greatly defaced, but probably bore the same decoration.

It is not in my power to give drawings showing the arrangement of the sculpture on the short sides of these gravestones, as we did not make sketches of any of them. They agree in general arrange-

ment with the short sides of the following monument, though small details differ in every case; and the agreement confirms the proof that this class of monuments belongs to and originated in the Isaurian hill-country. Especially the attaching of names to the human figures in No. 3 appears also in No. 4.

4. Figs. A-C, which are from three sides of a stone found at Uetch Kilisse in Isauria * by Prof. Ramsay, are here given for com-

Fig. 4 A.

parison. The work on this poor gravestone is coarser than that of the three preceding monuments; but the disposition is the same. The grotesque human figure with wreaths for arms, which occurs on the back of No. 3, forms here the central ornament of the principal side. In No. 4 A, the wreaths which form the arms of the figure are suspended from two columns, and above each is a head of Medusa, surrounded by extremely rude snakes. In Fig. 3 B

* "Three Churches": it is about five miles north-west from Appa-Serai.

the columns are not indicated, and the wreaths hang from no support: Fig. 4 A explains Fig. 3 B.

Above the defaced gorgoneion on the left was an inscription ending with H C: there cannot have been many letters lost, so that probably only a personal name was here engraved.

The carving of the two sides, Figs. 4 B and 4 C, and the placing of the names above the figures, are exactly similar to the sides of No. 3 and doubtless also to the defaced sides of 1 and 2.

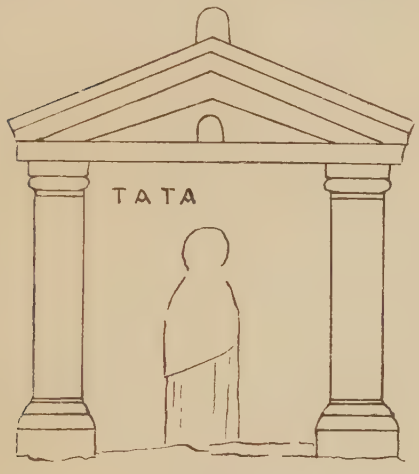



Fig. 4 B.

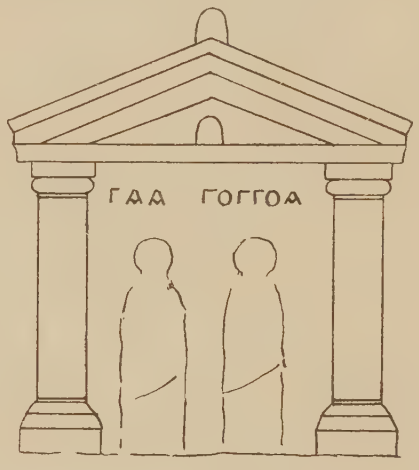



Fig. 4 C.

The back of the stone is left plain and not even smoothed.

5. Sarcophagus found in 1905 by Prof. Ramsay, at Appa-Serai in Isauria. This should be compared with a sarcophagus (Fig. 5 B) from Dondurma,* near Lake Tatta, far away to the north-east of Konia, which is now in the Konia museum.

* M. Mendel says Kotch-Hissar on the east side of the Lake; but this is incorrect, on the information given us. Dondurma is the Kurd name of a village on the west side of the Lake, Herkenli in Turkish. To bring the monument from the east side would be very difficult. Dondurma is under the government of Kotch-Hissar, hence the error. The official statement is that given by M. Mendel, but when one enquires closely, one finds that it is "Dondurma of Kotch-Hissar".

The resemblances between the two are no less striking than their differences. On the front of each are two seated figures, a man and a woman, facing one another, and in very high relief. The space between them is occupied on the Dondurma sarcophagus by a carved

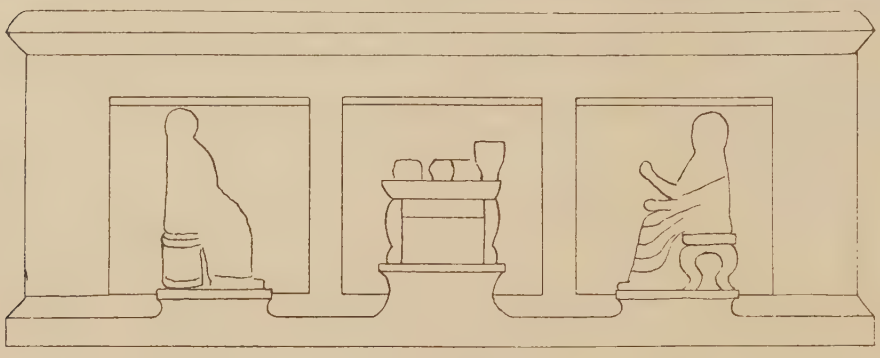


Fig. 5 A.

tablet ; on the other it is filled by a representation, also in very high relief, of a table on which are several jars or pans of different shapes. Both sarcophagi are ornamented on the ends, that from Dondurma by a large medallion with a head, in high relief, that from Apa by a

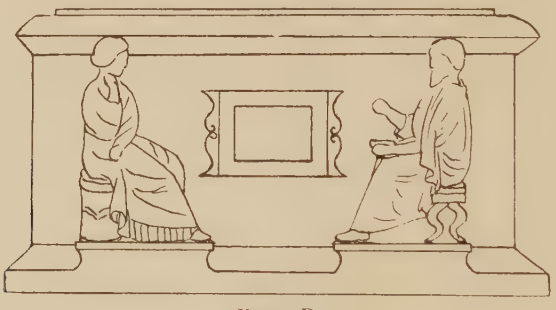


Fig. 5 B.

simple pattern in incised lines, within which is a bird (Fig. 5 C). Each of them has a projecting rim round the top, and a similarly projecting base, from which rise short pedestals or bases supporting the figures in relief.* Of these, the male figure is at the right, seated

* The supports are almost wanting in 5 A, and this adds to the uncouth look.

FIG. 6 A.—IN AN ISAURIAN VALLEY (T. CALLANDER).

*To face page* 16.

on a chair with curved legs ; one hand is slightly raised, the other rests on his knee and, on the Dondurma monument, holds a book. The female figure who faces him occupies a round drum-like seat.

Of these two sarcophagi, that from Dondurma is purely Greek in character and style, and is clearly the work of a trained sculptor. The other is as obviously of native and quite unskilled workmanship ; the figures, which are in unusually high relief, are excessively rude, heavy and lumpish ; the raised hand of the male figure is not even clearly cut out, but the rough stone is left projecting between it and the knees of the figure instead of being cut away to the level of the background ; and this gives at first sight the impression of a child sitting on the knee. The carved tablet on the Greek sarcophagus is replaced in this by the purely native ornament of the table and the household utensils —a type of decoration very common on the monuments published in § iv. of this paper (also Fig. 1).

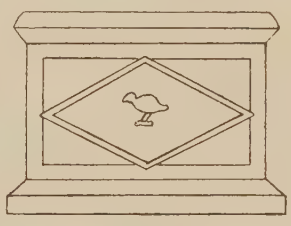


Fig. 5 C.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the one sarcophagus is a copy or at least an imitation of the other. The resemblances between them—the high relief, the position and character of the figures, the projecting bases which support them, the similarity even of the different seats which the man and the woman occupy—are too close to be fortuitous.

We must suppose that the Greek sarcophagus was made by an artist properly trained in Greek sculpture, and probably made at Iconium (Konia) ; for such a work is scarcely likely to have been executed except in a town of considerable size. There, no doubt, it was bought, and carried by its purchasers to the Kotch-Hissar district,* but before its removal it was seen by some unskilled Isaurian craftsman who afterwards carved a sarcophagus in imitation of it,

* Prof. W. M. Ramsay points out that Iconium was the capital of this part of the Province Galatia in the second and third centuries, and that intercourse was therefore frequent.

putting in that incongruous piece of native decoration between the Grecian figures.

The Dondurma sarcophagus has been published by M. Mendel, *B.C.H.*, 1902, pp. 224, 225, who dates it about the end of the second century. Both of them are certainly distinctly earlier than Nos. 1-3, and belong to a time when Isaura, which rose to importance in the third century, was still an insignificant place, without the school of native trained artists which, as will be shown later, it afterwards possessed.

In the second century, therefore, the artist in the Isaurian mountain-district is seen to be almost wholly under the influence of models from Greek art, though he is not possessed of sufficient skill to imitate the style but only rudely reproduces the motives (interpolating the brazier and pots of his native rustic surroundings). On the other hand Figs. 1-4 show a totally different style of monument in the Isaurian country during the early part of the fourth century. A new epoch and style have begun during the third century. This style we take to be native to the country, and not imported from Rome. The examples which we have seen of it as yet are not conclusive ; they belong to Kavak and Kilistra, on the extreme northern skirts of the Isaurian country. Even No. 4 is not very far south in the heart of the mountains. It would therefore be possible (so far as we have gone) to suppose that these monuments belonged to Iconium and had been carried to the Isaurian hill villages.

But MM. Radet and Paris describe a monument at Appa-Serai in Isauria, which is distinctly of the same type.* At Appa-Serai we are right inside of the Isaurian hill-country. Prof. T. Callander in 1904 made an excursion further south into the heart of the Isaurian mountain-land and the upper Calycadnus valley (described in this

* *B.C.H.*, 1887, p. 63. They call the village Apa ; but Prof. W. M. Ramsay saw in Appa-Serai one of the monuments described by them. There is said to be also a village Appa, two or three miles away from Appa-Serai. The village name Appa is common in Anatolia, and is probably the survival of an ancient name, as Prof. Ramsay says in *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, i., p. 347.

PLATE III.

FIG. 6 B.—AT AN ISAURIAN VILLAGE (T. CALLANDER).

*To face page* 18.

volume by himself). Here he saw and photographed various monuments lying on the hill-side, showing the same character which we have concluded to be Isaurian. These are briefly noticed in the following paragraph. It will be observed that they are undistinguishable in arrangement from the whole group which we call Isaurian, though generally simpler in character and earlier in date.

6. In Fig. 6 A the arrangement of the design differs from Figs. 1-3 so far that the central space is covered at the top with a rounded

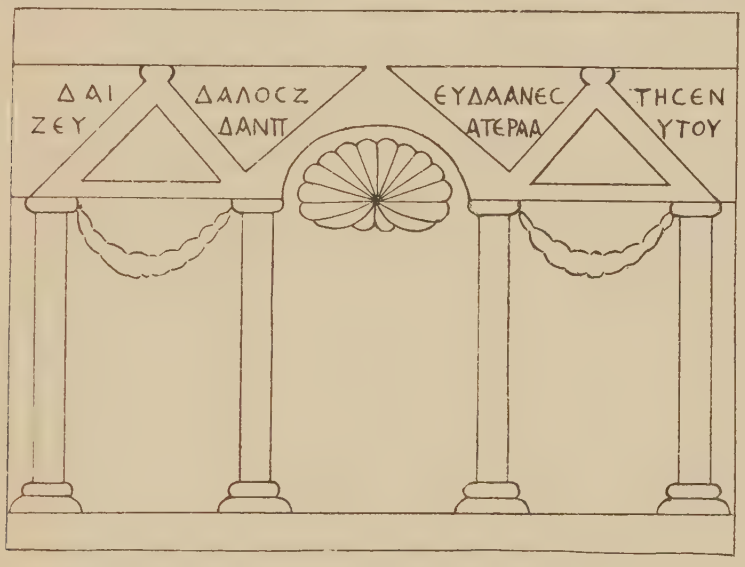



Fig. 6 D. (After Prof. Callander, p. 168, No. 44.)

arch (in which is the already familiar shell-like ornament) instead of a pointed pediment as in those three monuments. But the columns (the middle two with twisted fluting, the outer two now broken), the side arches with shell-like ornament, the figures in the spaces, and the general style, are unmistakably the same. The monument 6 A comes from the same school as 1-3.

Figs. 6 B-G are added to show how closely the monuments of this district approximate to those of Dorla, which are given in the

following section. The scheme of ornament they display is, as will be observed, that especially characteristic of the Dorla monuments, namely, a row of columns supporting a central arch flanked

Fig. 6 E. (After Prof. Callander, p. 168, No. 43.)

by two pediments. No. 6 D closely resembles the stone of Indakos, § ii., No. 8. With No. 6 E, in which the two side pediments are

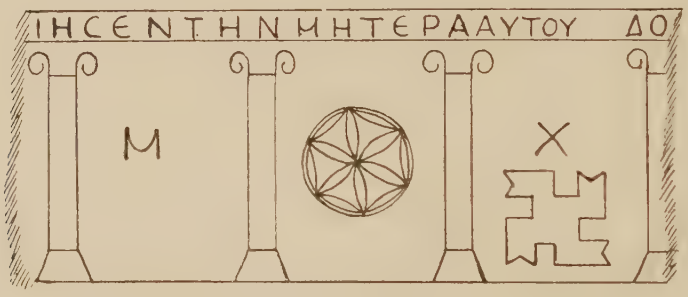



Fig. 6 F. (After Prof. Callander, No. 40.)

suppressed, we may compare a very similar stone in the Dorla series, No. 30. No. 6 F is rather different from the rest, but has a considerable resemblance to No. 27, which diverges somewhat from

PLATE IV.

FIG. 6 C.—ON AN ISAURIAN HILL (T. CALLANDER).

*To face page* 20.

the ordinary Dorla type. 6 B and 6 C have an individual character, though the analogy to the Dorla type is evident amid a certain diversity, 6 B being like No. 14 with human figures instead of inscription. With 6 G compare No. 16 ; but figures (as in No. 23) are here substituted for the swastika symbol.

On looking at these monuments, one is struck over and over again by the love of decoration for its own sake which they indicate.

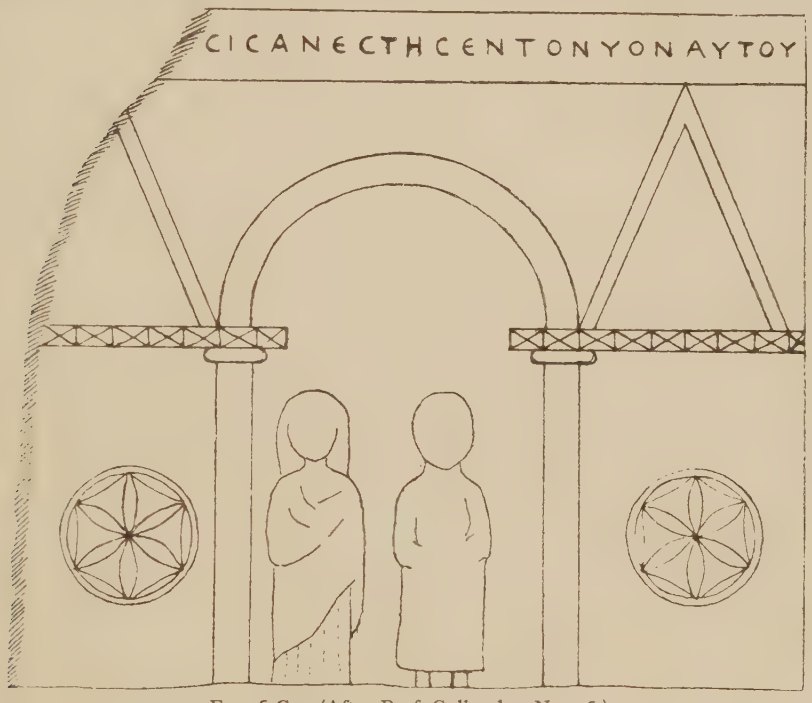



Fig. 6 G. (After Prof. Callander, No. 46.)

They are variously and profusely ornamented, as far as one can see, merely because the engraver objected to leaving any part of the stone plain and unadorned. This love of ornament for ornament's sake is and always has been characteristic of Anatolian, and indeed of all Asiatic art. It is seen even at the present time, when the coarsest sacks bear ornamental patterns, and the very paper in which shopkeepers wrap their parcels is often adorned with coloured patterns or pictures.

## II. DORLA (ISAURA NOVA).*

In 1890 Prof. Ramsay, in company with Messrs. Hogarth and Headlam, came by accident to Dorla, mistaking it for another village where they intended to stay the night. The sun set as they reached Dorla, but they noticed a number of inscriptions, and copied a few of them in the fading light before hurrying on to their camp at the village of Almasun, two and a half hours distant. To this fortunate accident is due the discovery of this site. Though Prof. Ramsay has been collecting information for five years in the Konia district with regard to ancient remains, no one of the hundreds who have given him reports about ancient sites ever mentioned Dorla. But in 1901, remembering the uncopied inscriptions of 1890, he went back to Dorla and found about fifty inscribed stones, with remains of other kinds sufficient to prove the site and reveal something of the history of Nova Isaura.

There is no clue to the form of the monuments at Dorla. All the inscriptions and reliefs or patterns which are here published are on single blocks of stone, and though several of these blocks seem to be incomplete in themselves, and merely parts of large built tombs (as for example the tomb of Bishop Theophilus, where several other fragments of sculptured stone were found near the block which bears the inscription), it is not clear whether this was the case with all. It is probable that in many instances, particularly when the relatives of the deceased were poor, the monument was simply a single block of stone.

7. Dorla. R. 1901 and 1904. Above the ornamental part of the stone—Νον?]ιλλα *ἐκόσμησεν τὸν μακάριον πάπαν τὸ*[*ν γ*]*λυκύτατον καὶ πάντων φ*[*ί*]*λον*. Nonilla, if that was the name—the part lost must have been only three or four letters—was probably the wife of the bishop.

* The courtesy of the Council of the Society for the promotion of Hellenic Studies permits me to use the blocks of the illustrations in § ii. (except Figs. 8, 12, 17, 18, 19, 31, which are new).

PLATE V.

The Gravestone of the Blessed Papas (Mrs. Ramsay).

*To face page 22.*

Prof. Ramsay considers that this is one of the most interesting and important sepulchral monuments ever found in Asia Minor. The stone, a massive rectangular block 5 feet 1½ inches in length by 3 feet 9¼ inches in height, was discovered by Prof. and Mrs. Ramsay in 1901 on the hill on the left or western bank of the stream that

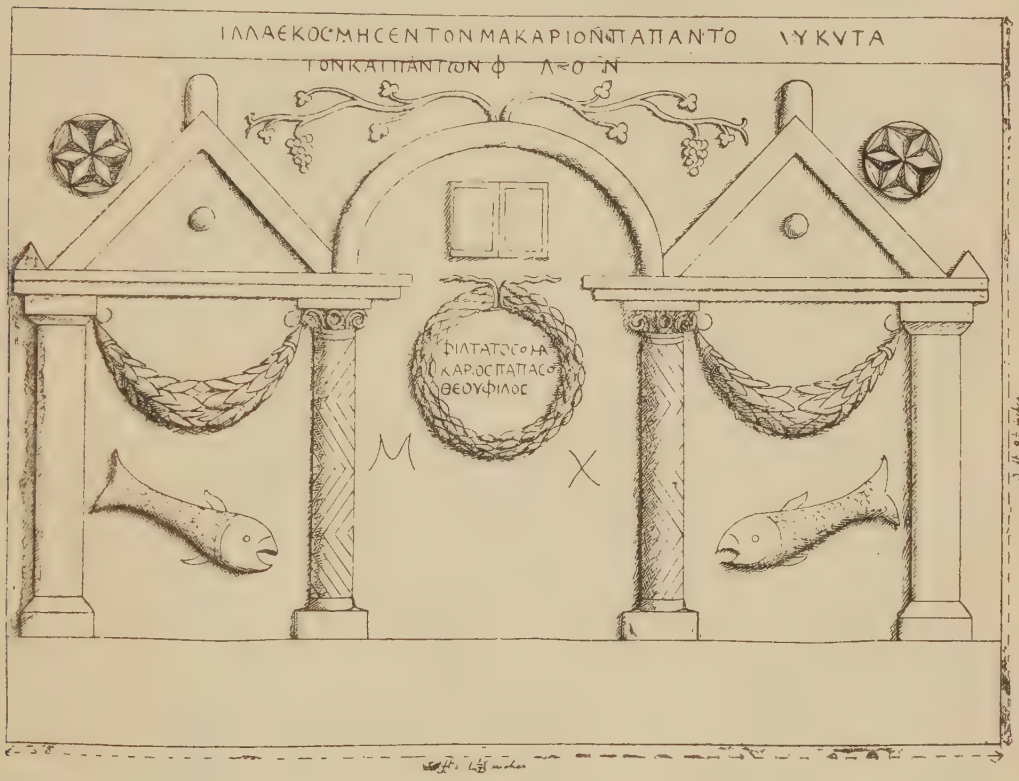



FIG. 7 A.

flows through the village. On one of the long sides is an architectural ornament which takes the form of four columns supporting a round arch and two side pediments. The pillars supporting the central arch are ornamented with a pattern in incised lines, and above the arch are two branches with leaves and bunches of grapes. The shape of these leaves is doubtful, as the stone is very much worn. They seem to

be trefoils, but whether rounded or pointed it is impossible to say : they are probably intended for vine-leaves, but if so, the delicate points have been worn away. Below the arch is an open book, or rather a set of tablets opened ; and in the central niche between the columns is a wreath tied above with a ribbon, and surrounding the inscription φίλτατος ὁ μακάριος πάπας ὁ θεοῦ φίλος, and the letters M X, for μνήμης χάριν. Each of the side pediments has a round boss in the centre ; and a garland hangs from the supporting pillars, and beneath it is the representation of a fish. All the ornament is in relief, with the exception of the ribbons supporting the garlands, and the fins of the fish, which are merely incised. The fins of the left fish were not visible on the stone, and have been restored from comparison with the other. The larger part of the epitaph is inscribed above the ornament, close to the upper edge of the stone. Several other examples of this simple style of monument, found in Lycaonia and Pisidia, and published in the course of this paper, seem to prove that it is of purely local origin.

The tomb is evidently that of a bishop. In the expression ὁ μακάριος πάπας, πάπας must be either the name or the title of the person buried there, probably the latter. Judging from the general character of Anatolian inscriptions, Prof. Ramsay came to the conclusion, in view of the stone in 1901, that it was not later than the second half of the third century, and that πάπας was the title. But this epitaph shows the remarkable peculiarity that the title supplants the actual name, in imitation of the pagan custom according to which a priest who became ἱερώνυμος (like the principal priests at Eleusis and in various of the great Anatolian cities) dropped his own name and was known simply by his title. This peculiarity is suggestive of a very early date ; and that the stone is an early one, prior to the time of Constantine, is shown also by the lettering and by the general character of the epitaph and the ornament. The natural human feeling shown in the wording of the epitaph, τὸν γλυκύτατον καὶ πάντων φίλον, points to an early Christian period ; the epithets applied to

such persons as bishops afterwards became much more religious and stereotyped in character. Compare the tender expression :—

γλυκύτερον φωτὸς καὶ ζόης

applied by Aur. Xanthias to his son who died at the age of seven, in a Christian inscription of Rome, dated by the consuls of A.D. 238. The phrase πάντων φίλος is here used in an inscription which is undoubtedly Christian, and such moral sentiments are found on many Christian tombstones, but (as Prof. Ramsay remarks in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii., p. 495) they cannot alone "be taken as a proof of Christian origin. In some cases similar sentiments were inscribed on non-Christian tombs as a counterblast to Christianity. Thus at Temenothyrai, *C.I.G.*, 3865, Μάρκου Πολιήτου φιλοσόφου πάντων φίλου clearly belongs to the pagan philosophical reaction" (on which compare *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii., p. 506 f., and an article in *Expositor*, Oct., 1904). It seems that they were originally Christian, and their occurrence on pagan stones is a proof of the strong influence which the new religion exerted even on its opponents. Another example is found in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii., p. 386 f., No. 232. The expression πάντων φίλος occurs in an inscription of Tarsus, which may perhaps be restored [ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν] τῷ αἰῶνι ζῇ. Φωσφόρος ὁ πάντων φίλος κ.τ.λ. The inscription continues in the ordinary style of epitaphs, though with some unusual features (published with some difference by Messrs. Heberdey and Wilhelm in *Wiener Akad. Denkschriften*, 1896, p. 5). It is evidently either Christian or of the reaction, when the aim was to show that paganism was superior to Christianity on its own lines. At Salonika τῷ πάντων φίλῳ Μυλάγῳ is probably pagan (*Mitth. Inst. Athen.*, 1896, p. 98). Θεοῦ φίλος is probably a play on Theophilus, the real name of the bishop.

The fish, the common symbol of the Christians in the early centuries, passed out of use at a comparatively early date, and the same is true of the open tablets which appear on this stone. This symbol occurs also on several North-Phrygian tombs, which Prof. Ramsay published in the *Expositor* in 1888.

The character of the ornament on this stone also points to an early date, probably the third century A.D. It seems at first sight to be an earlier stage of the elaborate decoration common on Byzantine and Roman sarcophagi of the fourth century, a row of figures standing in niches, with highly intricate and elaborate tracery and architectural ornament. Here we have the semi-architectural schema, without the human figures. But, as one stone after another is discovered, we see that the schema is a traditional type in Nova Isaura, characteristic of the place, which is likely to have lasted for centuries, varied, but never essentially changed. The fact that it is a simpler stage of the fourth century sarcophagus style would not, taken alone, prove anything about date. But this monument is very much larger than the other Dorla monuments, and represents an attempt to improve upon and elaborate the native type. New elements are introduced on this tomb which are unknown on any of the other stones in Dorla ; and yet it is indubitably among the very earliest of all the examples found in the village. This more ambitious style is a proof that more money, care, and work were spent on this stone. It was the tomb of an exceptional person (either through his wealth or through his rank), and it represented the highest stage of which local art was capable, elaborating the native schema by imported additions, especially the fish, that widespread symbol, which was certainly not invented in Nova Isaura, but introduced there from outside. Now, had this large and ambitious monument been built in the fourth century, it would probably have shown some of the Græco-Roman forms most characteristic of that time ; taking into consideration the entire absence of those characteristic fourth century forms, and the fact that in the Dorla series this has all the appearance of being among the earliest, we must infer that it belongs to the third century.

The ornament scattered liberally over the surface of the stone contains various elements ; but none of these are necessarily borrowed from a formed Græco-Roman art. The fish was taken as a symbol, not as an artistic element, and is placed on the tomb to be significant,

and not merely to be ornamental. We have in this stone a simple development of the native art, and not a mixture of an indigenous and an exotic art.

Other elements in the ornamentation, besides the fish, are almost certainly symbolical. The vine branch above the central pediment indicates that the bishop was a branch of the true vine, and the garland symbolises the crown of life. The open tablets, as has been pointed out by Prof. Ramsay, *Expositor*, April, 1905, p. 296 f., are to be taken as representing the record of the covenant between God and man. He shows that the idea of the tablets is derived from Rev. v. 1 ff., and that "the book," which is there mentioned, is really a set of double or triple tablets, with a document or covenant written in duplicate, one inside closed up, witnessed and sealed by seven witnesses, the other open and public on the outside (according to the usual Roman custom in regard to important business documents or wills). He has also shown that the Revelation is the one book of the New Testament which is often referred to in the Lycaonian inscriptions (*Expositor*, Dec., 1905, p. 443, Feb., 1906, p. 143); and that John is next to Paul and Mirus (Wonderful) the commonest male name in those inscriptions during the fourth century.

It is probable that the six-leaved rosettes are also symbolical. The frequency of this rosette on Lycaonian Christian monuments, and the way in which it is sometimes employed, suggest that it is a modification of the early Christian monogram ⁎, originally representing Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός). The book should be compared with the mosaic inscription of Naro in Africa (Hammam-Lif), *instrumenta servi tui* on an open diploma: this inscription was in mosaic in a room beside the church, in which were kept the sacred books, etc. (*Rev. Arch.*, 1904, p. 368).

The title πάπας employed in this inscription is extremely interesting. It proves what was before probable, that this title was at first employed much more widely and was gradually restricted in use. Heraeus, *Archiv. f. latein. Lexicogr.*, xiii., p. 157, says that the use of

Papa to indicate the bishop in Roman inscriptions begins about A.D. 300 (quoting from de Rossi, *Inscr. Christ. Urbis Rom.*, i., p. cxv. = Anth. Lat. epigr. 656, 2) and that from the sixth century it is confined to the Pope (quoting from Caesar, *de aet. tit. Christ.*, p. 65). Prof. Harnack in *Berl. Sitzungsber.*, 1900, p. 990, points out that in the West Papa was, in early times, used only in Rome, but was there employed as the ordinary term for bishop, either of Rome, or of any other place. Tertullian uses it sarcastically of the Roman bishop Callistus. In the East Harnack thinks it was used only in Egypt, and only of the Bishop of Alexandria, so that ὁ μακάριος πάπας was the recognised title of that bishop alone, while other Egyptian bishops were styled πατὴρ ἡμῶν. In the pre-Nicene period, as he says, the title πάπας is not known to have been used of any other Eastern bishop: but it was customary for the Alexandrian bishops from at least as early as 250. Only in the letter of Pseudo-Justin to Zenas and Serenus the title ὁ πάπας occurs. The phrase ὁ μακάριος πάπας is found several times during the third century in Egypt, and was a recognised title of the Bishop of Alexandria. This Isauran inscription shows that it was used also in Asia Minor during the same period. Dr. Sanday also quotes Gregory Thaumaturgus,* which implies that it was used in the province of Pontus about 250.

Though a bishop is mentioned in this epitaph, the name Isaura never occurs in the Byzantine lists of bishoprics. Prof. Ramsay has shown in an article on Lycaonia, published in the Austrian *Jahreshefte*, 1904, Part ii., that the two neighbouring towns, Isaura Nova and Korna, were bishoprics in early time, but were merged in the great autokephalos bishopric of Isaura Palaea, called Leontopolis, some time after 381, and probably at the same time that the name Leontopolis was given to Isaura, namely about 474. Basil himself,

* *Ep. Canon* i. οὐ τὰ βρώματα ἡμᾶς βαρεῖ, ἱερὲ (*v.l.* ἱερώτατε) πάπα (Routh, *Rell. Sacr.*, iii., 256).

Ep. 190, dreaded this loss of independence "for the small states or villages which possess an Episcopal seat from ancient times," and in order to prevent it when the bishopric of Isaura Palaea was vacant about 374, he wrote to Amphilochius of Iconium and recommended the nomination of officials called προϊστάμενοι for the smaller towns or cities before a new bishop was appointed for Isaura. Prof. Ramsay in 1901 discovered the grave of one of these officials at Alkaran, between Korna and Nea Isaura, with the inscription μνήμης χάριν Κόνωνος [προ]ιστα[μένου].

The name πάπας, applied to the priest of Malos Galatiae in Acta S. Theodoti, is quoted by a writer in *Anal. Boll.*, xxii., p. 327,

Fig. 8.

as a proof that the document was not written by a contemporary, but belongs to a later age. In view of our inscription this argument falls to the ground, and the use of the term πάπας in that document is rather favourable to the view (advocated by Prof. Ramsay many years ago, and recently by Prof. Harnack and others) that the Acta S. Theodoti is a good document of early date.

8. In the wall of a house at Alkaran, one hour north of Dorla. The scheme is still the same as on the preceding stones, but a little more elaborated. Whorls of curved lines are inserted in the spaces between the tops of the pediments, and beneath the rounded central

arch appears a shell-like ornament, which, in a more developed form, is very frequent on Byzantine sarcophagi. Below this is a garland which, like those hanging beneath the side pediments, is of a more conventional type than those on the bishop's tomb (No. 7). The name Indakos is a lengthened form of Inzas, the name of a bishop of Korna (12 miles north-west) in A.D. 381.*

9. Dorla. R. 1904. Ὁ ἁγνότατος καὶ ἡδυεπὴς καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς κεκοσμημένος Σισαμόας ἐπίσκοπος.

The proportions of the ornament on this tombstone are almost identical with those of No. 10 ; but in the one case the inscription is placed in the space above, in the other it is written across the orna-

Fig. 9.

ment. The columns are a little more Greek and exotic in shape in No. 9 than in No. 10. But the two evidently come from the same workshop and belong to the same period. They were standing ready-made in the shop, and bought before the inscriptions were placed on them, according to the custom observable in many other cases, whereas No. 7 was perhaps made by special order to suit Bishop Theophilus.

It is difficult to decide whether this pair or the three, Nos. 13 to 15, should be placed earlier. The language of No. 9 is more artificial and elaborate than that of No. 15, but on the other hand it

* Z and Δ are often interchangeable in Anatolian proper names (see p. 366 of this volume.

differs from the formulæ which were already accepted and stereotyped about 360, and must represent an older local growth of terminology which was afterwards abolished by the general custom of the Church (seen in No. 14). It might very well be that Sisamoas succeeded Mammas, and the deacon was a younger contemporary of Sisamoas, while the two sets of stones came from two rival workshops.

ἡδυεπής is an old epic and poetic word, applied to Nestor in Homer, also to Muses, Apollo, a lyre, etc. It is characteristic of the Greek used in the rural districts of the plateau to employ old

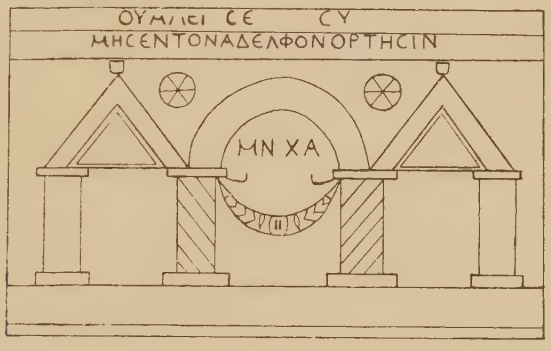



Fig. 10.

poetic words, as Prof. Ramsay has pointed out in the case of τέκμωρ and others.* ἡδυεπής seems to have become a standing epithet of bishops in Nova Isaura: *cf.* No. 39 in the inscriptions of Nova Isaura, published by Prof. Ramsay in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1905, p. 167.

10. Dorla. R. 1904. Αὐρ.? ] Οὐαλέρ[ι]ς Ἐ[ὐτύχ?]ου [ἐκόσ]-μησεν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ὀρτῆσιν μν. χα. The last name is the Latin Hortensius. Aur. used as equivalent to a praenomen is inserted at the beginning, as one or two letters seem to have been lost there; but the name may have been a shorter one. Praenomina began to

* See p. 318 of this volume.

pass out of use in the third century, after A.D. 212. They were important before that time as proving Roman citizenship ; but when all free citizens of the provinces had become Roman, the value of the praenomen disappeared and it was gradually disused. The Latin character of the names also favours a comparatively early date. On the other hand it is probable that the name Valerius was introduced into Isaura Nova in the time of Diocletian. Aur. Valerius was probably born about 290-300 ; and the stone may be dated about 330-350, when all the circumstances of name and style are taken into account.

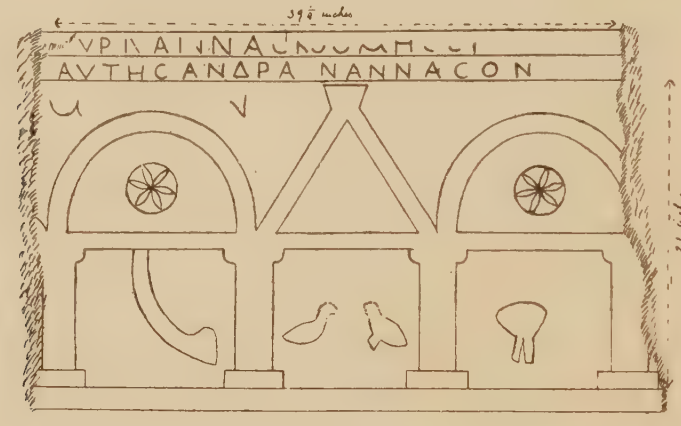



Fig. 11.

11. In the cemetery of the Greek church, Agia Metamorphosis, at Konia. R. 1904. The stone had been worked over within the last few months, and much defaced, but most of the details can be recovered with certainty, except the ornaments in relief in the spaces between the columns.

Αὐρ. Νάννα ἐκόσμησεν τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα Ναννασον.

In passing through the cemetery Prof. Ramsay saw this stone, and recognised it at once as being of the fine Dorla limestone and as having come from the same workshop as Nos. 9 and 10. As the grave was a recently made one, he inquired to what family it belonged,

and was able eventually to trace it back to a village called Tchumra, about half-way between Dorla and Konia. Further he could not trace it, and it remains uncertain whether the stone was brought to Tchumra recently or not: but there can be no doubt that his first impression was correct, and that it was cut by the same workman as Nos. 9 and 10. The ornament in the central space between the columns is evidently a representation of two birds. Those in the side spaces are unfortunately so much defaced that it is impossible to say what they are, though the general outline is pretty certain.

This is the only one of the three which has been drawn to scale. It was impossible for various reasons to make measured drawings of the others; and for them the ultimate authority lies in sketches made by my father. But he recognised the same heavy proportions in this as in the other two, which he knew the better from having drawn them, and from having already observed the difference in their proportions from the other monuments of Dorla.

12. Alkaran. R. 1905. Αὐρ. Δόμνα[ν τὴν]γλυκυτάτην θυγατέρα διενενκοῦσαν παρθενείᾳ καὶ φιλεργίᾳ Αὐρ. Ὀρεστιανὸς Κύρ[ου ὁ] πατήρ.

The scheme of ornament is the usual one characteristic of the district, with the addition of two doves, one of which holds a leaf in its beak. While the rest of the carving is in relief, the doves are incised, and were probably added by the purchaser. The swastika 卐 occurs frequently on stones both on the frontier of Pisidia and on the borders of Lycaonia and Isauria. Prof. Sterrett (*Wolfe Expedition*, No. 220, *cf.* also Nos. 56, 93) mentions a stele with grape-vines and this symbol, which he recognised as Christian; and his opinion is certainly correct for this Isaurian district in the third and fourth centuries after Christ, though the symbol is elsewhere usually pagan. Here it was treated as one of the varieties of the cross-symbol.

The circular ornaments in the pediments are hollows like pateræ or cups, with bosses in the centre.

That Domna was officially a Parthenos in the Church is not necessarily implied in her epitaph ; but the words imply a state of feeling in society which would support and encourage the institution of official Parthenoi. The reference to her domestic activity (*φιλεργία*) gives a pleasing idea of family life, and lends meaning to the household utensils so often represented on Isaurian and Lycaonian graves ; these utensils are called "the works of Athena" in No. 38 (which is probably Christian in spite of the mention of pagan goddesses).

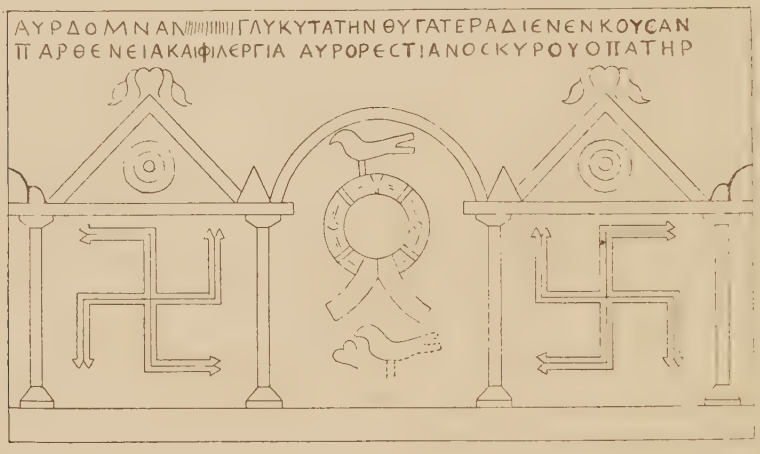
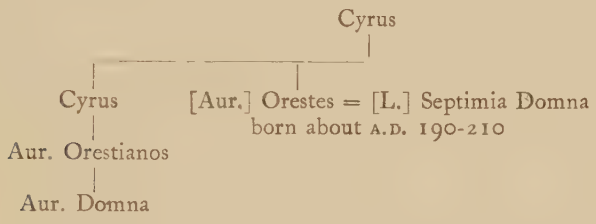



Fig. 12.

The date of this inscription is fixed in the third century by another stone found beside it in a field a mile east of Alkaran and evidently belonging to the same family sepulchre : it is the tombstone of a relative (probably aunt) of Domna (to whom the more ornate monument Fig. 12 was dedicated) ; and is inscribed

Λ. ?] Σεπτιμίαν Δό[μν]αν τ[ὴν γλυκυτά-
τ]ην καὶ σεμνοτάτην γυναῖκα αὐτο[ῦ Αὐρ. ?
Ὀρέστης Κύρου ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς μνήμης χ[άριν
Rosette · Leaf Leaf Leaf Rosette

The name Septimia Domna belongs unquestionably to the early years of the third century. The family sepulchre was surrounded by many other graves (among them Nos. 17 and 18), and evidently formed part of a large cemetery, which would well repay excavation as it is covered only by two or three feet of soil: all or most of the stones in Alkaran have been brought from it (about a dozen, chiefly unpublished yet, as late as 1904-1905). The relationship of the family was probably :—




The assumption of the praenomen Aur. by the family, which took place about A.D. 212,* probably happened between the birth of Septimia and that of her niece; but the restoration of the praenomina in the earlier inscription is uncertain. There seems not to be room for Αὐρ. in the case of Septimia, and Λ(*ουκία*) after the reigning Emperor 193-211 imposes itself as almost necessary in accordance with widespread analogy.

On the grave of Septimia see also No. 18.

13. In the wall of the mosque at Dorla (R. 1904). Μάκερος καὶ Ὀᾶ[ς κ]αὶ Ἀν[ω?λ?]ις ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐκόσμησαν τὸν πᾶσι φίλον ἐπίσκοπον Μάμμαν. It is doubtful whether certain marks to the left of l. 1 indicate a letter. This stone also shows the scheme characteristic of the district, the rounded pediment flanked by two pointed ones, all supported by four columns. The more conventional form of wreath which here appears is very common on tombstones in this district, as are the two implements below it. The one on the

* See p. 355 of this volume.

right is evidently a hammer, while the other apparently represents some sort of knife or sickle : it appears in complete form in No. 26. Under the right-hand pediment is a complicated ornament represented in the epigraphical copy by cross lines. A more correct representation of a small part is given below (Fig. 13 B). Each lozenge is indented with sides sloping to a deep point in the centre, and each is separated by a ridge, *viz.*, the general level of the surface, from the surrounding lozenges. This is probably intended to represent a fisherman's net ; and, if so, the ornament is significant and not purely decorative. It is unfortunate that the corresponding

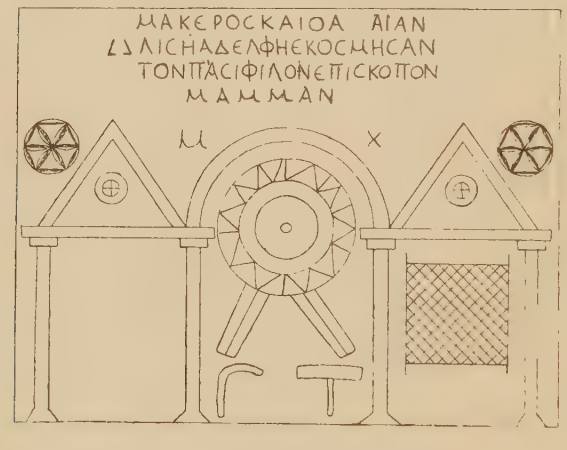



Fig. 13 A.

Fig. 13 B.

symbol or ornament under the left pediment has been completely defaced, probably because its character offended Mohammedan taste.

With regard to the date of this inscription I quote the following from Prof. Ramsay : " If this inscription were late, it might be argued that '*Πασίφιλον*' has perhaps here become a single epithet, and is no longer felt to be a pair of words, as it is in many second and third century inscriptions. But on the other hand this epithet does not belong to the later stereotyped Byzantine phraseology ; and nothing in the inscription suggests the ecclesiastical system as it can be seen almost fully formed in the writings of the three great Cappadocians,

Basil and the Gregories. The first half of the fourth century seems to be the latest allowable date for this inscription. It might possibly be assigned to the third."

The crosses placed so inconspicuously as part of the ornamentation here should be noted. The earliest position of the cross on gravestones was probably above the inscription. In this situation it might pass for a sort of ornament, and thus it would not draw attention too prominently, while it would be significant to those who could understand. As has been pointed out by Prof. Ramsay, *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii., p. 502, that is the characteristic of third century Christian epitaphs. An inscription (probably of the third century) found a few miles west of Laodiceia Katakekaumene in Galatic Phrygia, and published by Mr. Hogarth, *J.H.S.*, 1890, p. 165, No. 23, belongs to this class; the editor has omitted the cross above the inscription (which was re-copied by Prof. Ramsay in 1891).

Later than this are (1) the class of inscriptions in which the developed symbol ☧ or ☩ is placed above the epitaph, as for example *Ath. Mitth.*, xiii., 1887, 256, No. 70; (2) the class in which the simple + is placed before the first word (and often after the last word) of the inscription, and in the same line with it. On this subject see the concluding note of this section.

14. Dorla. R. 1901 and 1904. *τὸν τειμιώτατον διάκονον* Τάβειν Νάννα ἡ *μήτηρ καὶ* Οὐάλγιος *καὶ* Ῥοῦφος *οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκόσμησαν μ. χ.*

The six-leaved rosette which appears here is a very common ornament in various slightly modified forms on tombstones in Lycaonia. Rosettes of this kind are common also in Pisidia, but generally have eight leaves instead of six. Prof. Ramsay has seen no exception to the rule that the six-leaved rosette is characteristic of Lycaonia and the eight-leaved of Pisidia; but the Pisidian examples which he has seen are too few in number to justify any confident assertion of this principle.

This tomb of the deacon is distinctly later than that of Bishop

Theophilus (No. 7). The ornament and arrangement are closely analogous to the tomb of Bishop Mammas, but later, as the phrase *τὸν τειμιώτατον διάκονον* has already the technical character of the Byzantine church formulas. But the general form of the inscription is still of the older type, and it can hardly be much later than the

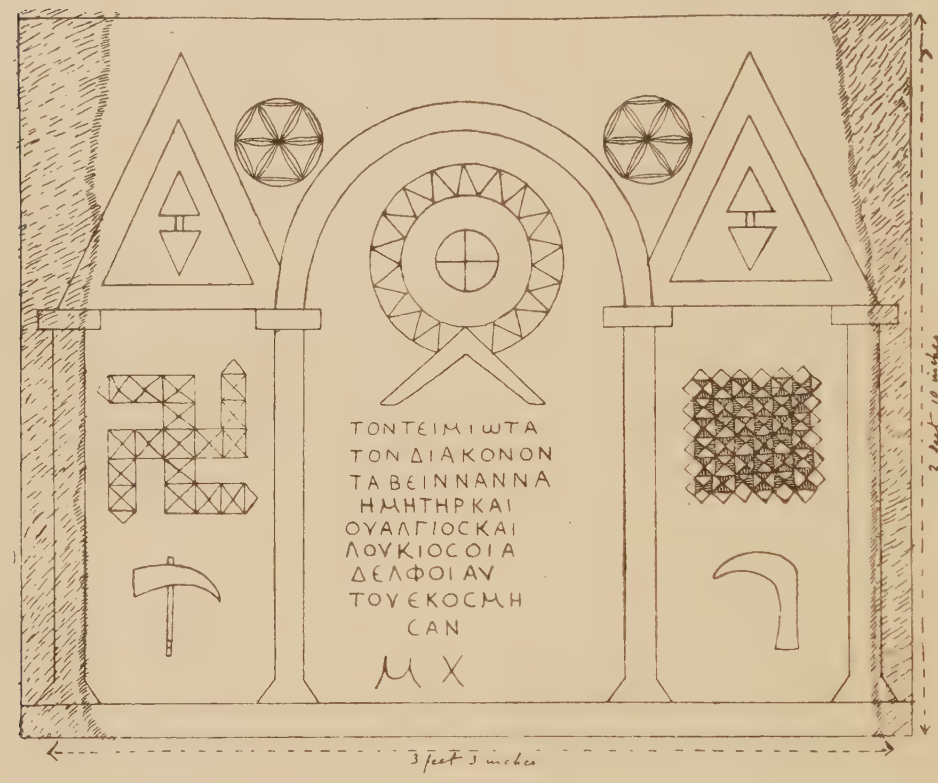



FIG. 14.

middle of the fourth century, and may even be as early as the time of Constantine; on the whole a date about the epoch of Basil, A.D. 353-370, is most probable. It is quite probable that the tombs of Bishop Mammas and Deacon Tabeis were made in the same workshop, and are separated by only a very few years from one another.

The tomb of Rufus, No. 15, comes from the same workshop, and must therefore be placed in the same period.

Fig. 15.

15. Dorla. R. 1901, 1904. *ταύτην τὴν στήλην ἔστησαν Ῥούφῳ τῷ ἀϊμνήστῳ τῷ ἀθλίῳ Δημήτριος ὁ πατὴρ μ. χ.*

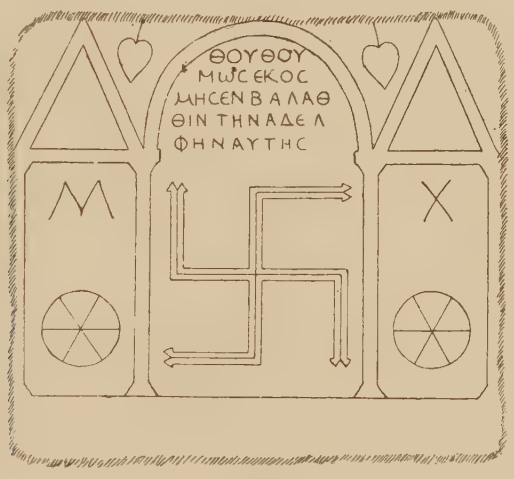



Fig. 16.

On the arrangement and date see No. 13. The swastika on the right side is more complicated than usual.

16. Dorla. R. 1890, 1904. *Θούθου Μῶς ἐκόσμησεν Βάλαθθιν τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς.* The names are very characteristically Isaurian.

It would not be natural that names of this type should persist later than the fourth century ; personal names of Christian character came into use gradually from the latter part of the third century onwards. With Mos (which was common at Olba) compare Tas, Bas, Zas, Plos, also Dazas, Tetes, etc., in Isauria, Pisidia, Lycaonia. Thouthous, Thiouthious, Sousous, Zouzous, are generally masculine ; Thouthou here is feminine.

17. Alkaran. R. 1905. *ἡ δεῖνα ἀνέστη]σεν τὸν π(α)τέρα αὐτῆς.*

A monument of simple character. The circles in the pediments are hollow cups. For the doves compare No. 12.

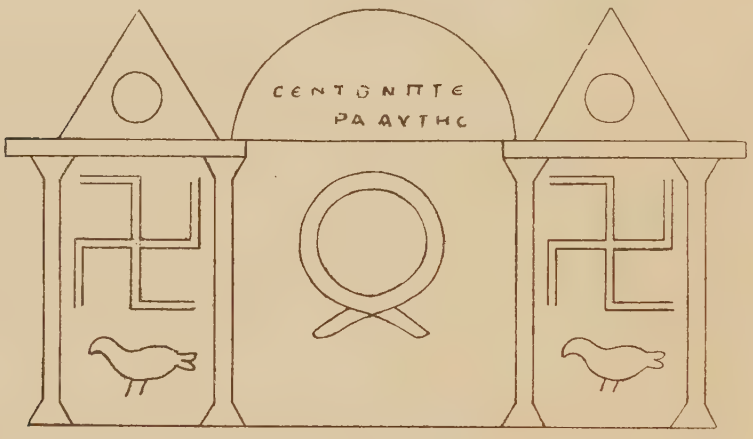



Fig. 17.

18. Alkaran. R. 1905. *Δόμνα Κονζαπέου θυγάτηρ.*

The ornament in the spaces below the side pediments is the early Christian monogram of I X (*i.e.*, *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*, see on No. 7). Its presence here in this form goes to prove that the inscription can scarcely be later than the third century (or early fourth at the latest). It is probable that the resemblance of this monogram to a six-rayed star caused the popularity of the six-leaved rosette in Christian tombstones in this region. The rosette was an old ornament (just as were the cross and the swastika) which was seized upon by Christian imagination as symbolic of the sacred name.

With this gravestone should be compared one found at Yuruk-Keni, three hours west of the cemetery where this and other stones of Alkaran were found ; it was probably carried from the Alkaran cemetery to Yuruk-Keni (R. 1906).

Ἀπᾶς Κουανζαφέους ἀνέστησεν ἀδελ-
φῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰνδακῷ ἐπισκόπῳ δικέῳ
ἀγαφητῷ ζῶν κὲ ἑαυτοῦ μνήμης
χάριν.

Rosette Leaf Crown Leaf Rosette

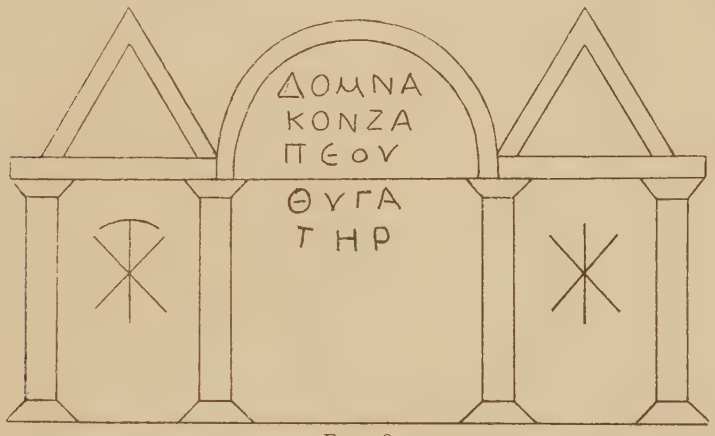



Fig. 18.

This epitaph is, evidently, earlier than Fig. 18, and stands in the same relation to it as the grave of Septimia does to Fig. 12. It was probably made at the same time and in the same workshop as the tombstone of Septimia, as the likeness is exact, the only variation being the crown instead of the central leaf. The date is therefore about A.D. 210-240. The Dorla type had not originated when these two stones were carved : they are very large blocks, belonging to monuments of considerable pretensions, and therefore the reason for their simplicity was not poverty (as is the case with some of the Dorla stones). They belong to an earlier stage of Isaurian history, when the new impulse had not yet directed the development

of the local art and formed the Dorla scheme of ornament. But the impulse was already beginning to seek for some way of expression.

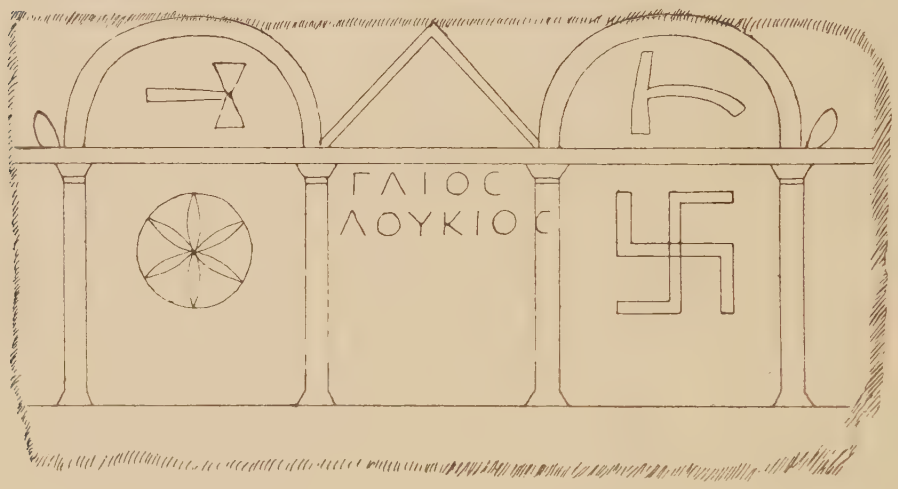



Fig. 19.

19. Dorla. R. 1904. On a large stone beside the tomb of Bishop Theophilus. The names Γαΐος and Λούκιος are used here

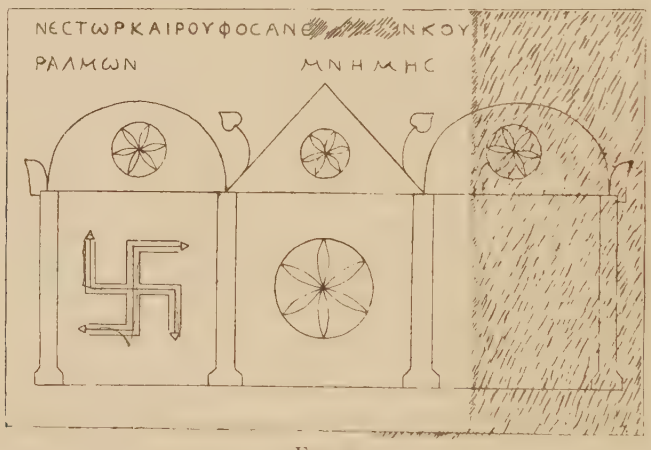



Fig. 20.

together, possibly both applied to the same person, more probably two persons are meant. The simple name in the nominative on an

ornate gravestone occurs also in No. 8. The ornament is very simple, and the tomb is probably early.

20. Dorla. R. 1901, 1904. Νέστωρ καὶ Ροῦφος. ἀνέ[στησα]ν Κου[λὰ καὶ Φ]ρα[δ]μων μνήμης [χάριν]. The restoration is doubtful. The forms of the ornament are simple and early, like No. 19.

21. At Alkaran, 1904. [ὁ δεῖνα ἐκόσμησεν Κά?]δδιν τὸν

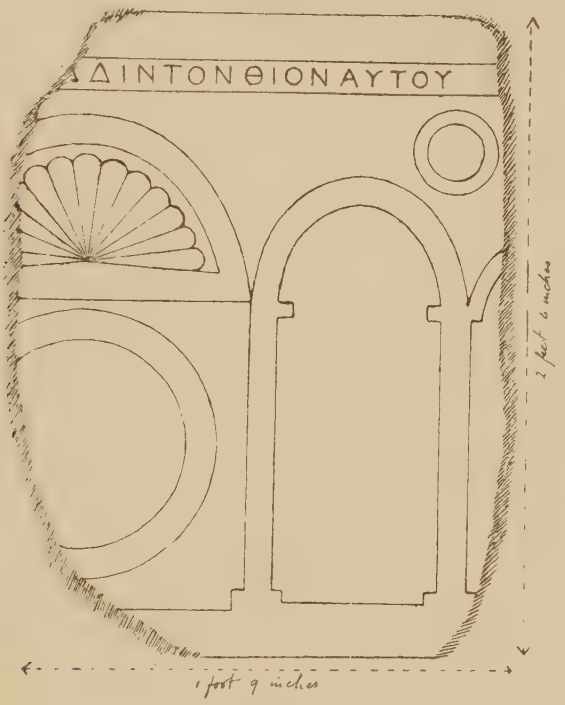



FIG. 21.

θῖον αὐτοῦ. With the difference that it has no pointed pediment and is much plainer in style, this stone so much resembles No. 8 that nothing more need be said about it.

22. A broken fragment in the wall of a house at Dorla: the inscription is lost. We have here a still further development of the same schema. In the pointed pediment is an ornament of three concentric circles—a conventional representation of a cup—above it

appears the whorl of curved lines occurring in No. 8, and a bunch of grapes, and to the right is part of a rounded arch within which is the shell also seen in No 8. One of the two columns supporting the

Fig. 22 A.

pediment is twisted, and between them is a male figure wearing a cap and a flowing mantle. This monument probably had, as in the

Fig. 22 B.

restoration, a female figure under the right side pediment, similar to the Pisidian inscription found at Kyr Stefan near Colonia Parlais by Prof. Ramsay in 1886, which is here added for comparison (Fig. 22 B).

The text is published by Mr. Cronin, *J.H.S.*, 1902, p. 114. The details were not drawn by Prof. Ramsay, who only sketched the general outline: they are added here from his verbal notes, and therefore have no claim to be accurate.

The Isauran schema is here elaborated by the addition of something of the Greek anthropomorphic tendency. This addition must be attributed to the influence of Greek education and knowledge, coming through the great cities like Iconium. The native architectural schema is here still the ruling element, and the exotic idea is subsidiary, filling up empty spaces, but the pillars are in shape Græco-Roman rather than of the old native fashion. Compare with this what is said on No. 25.

23. Kara Senir. R. 1904. The rudeness of the letters, as well as of the figures, is too great for exact reproduction. The stone is mutilated, and the reading remains uncertain. The left half of the inscription is given by Prof. Sterrett (*Wolfe Exped.*, p. 30).

In l. 1, the letter after Π is uncertain, O or Φ; and the last letter seems to be N, but must be intended for H. Possibly the text is Εὐμύρι, Ὄπφι καλ[ή], Παπία καλέ, οὐδὶς γὰρ ἀθάνατος: εὐμύρι is for εὐμοίρει.

The figure in the centre is also difficult. Is it pagan, one of the Dioscuri with the star over his head, or is the star a rude cross as in No. 29? The formula οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος occurs often in Christian inscriptions, but also in pagan epitaphs. But the doubt as to the religious character of the relief is removed by comparison with the indubitably Christian inscription in *C.I.L.*, iii., 14315 (from Salona in Dalmatia), +εὐμύρι Ἄγουστα· οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος. Prof. Ramsay has given examples of the use of οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος by Syrian Christians in *Expositor*, 1895, vol. i., pp. 58, 59. Compare also *C.I.G.*, *Ital. Sic.*, 114 (from the Syracusan catacombs), which ends with the *acclamatio* εὐμορει. As the horseman is imitated from the customary representation of the Dioscuri, it appears that in this case the Christians took over a pagan type and used it to express their

own ideas. The type is similar to No. 30 found at Dorla, but not exactly the same. Hence it is given here though it perhaps lies outside the territory of Nova Isaura.

24. Dorla. R. 1904. Ἐνθάδε κε[ῖ]ται Πάπας Οκλυως. The stone is broken in two parts; one is built into the south wall of the mosque, and one into the north wall. The sixth and seventh letters of l. 2 are very uncertain and possibly a letter is lost. This inscription is one of the latest at Dorla. The letters are coarse and late in form. It may be assigned to the fifth century; and there is no reason why it might not be even later, except the analogy of the

Fig. 23.

Fig. 24.

other stones. It is given as a specimen of the contrast between the regular Dorla class and the later work. The inscription is on the sunk tablet or panel within a raised border, resembling that in No. 25. The use of the panel to frame the inscription is, at Dorla, a mark of the later period.

25. Dorla. In two parts; the right-hand piece is built into the wall of the mosque, the other, from which all the top is broken away, is in the cemetery on the opposite side of the stream. The former was found by Messrs. Ramsay, Hogarth, and Headlam in 1890, the latter by Prof. and Mrs. Ramsay in 1901.

Ἡρώων πάντων Ὕλας προφερέστατος ἦε[ν,
ὃς θάνεν [ἐν] πηγῇ θέσκελος ἀθανάτοις·
ἠϊθέων δ' [ο]ἳ γῆν εὐτειχέα ναῖον Ἴσαρα,
Ζηνόβιος πρόφερεν, εἴκελος Ἀελίῳ·
ὃν πάντες φίλεον μέροπες, ἀστοί τε ξένοι[τε,
καὶ κοῦραι ε[ἰ]μεραὶ, κάλλος ἀγασσάμεναι.
ἀλλ' ὁ Φθόνος κακός ἐστιν ὃς ἔκπαγλον γεγαῶ[τα?
ἐξαπίνη[ς] ἐτάνυσ(σ)', ἔρνος [ἔ]π' ἠΰκομον.
τούνεκ[α] καὶ φιλέουσα τὸν υἱέα πότνια μήτηρ
Ἡράκλει(ς) [σ]ὺν παισὶ(ν) τεῦξέ οἱ ἀγλαΐην.
ἔρρε κατη[φιό]ων, ἄδικε Φθόνε, ὡς ὄφελόν σε
αὐτὸν [ἀντ' ἔργ?]ου ἀθάνατοι ὀλέσαι.

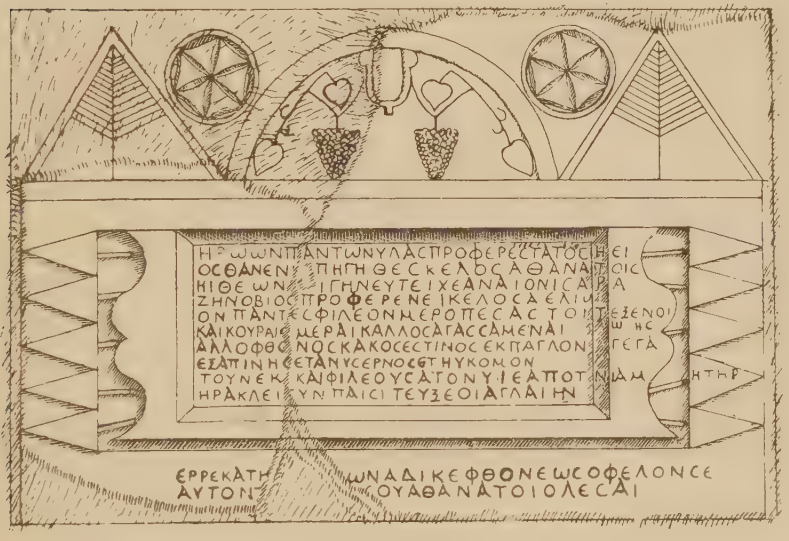



Fig. 25.

The last letter of l. 1 may be N, but only the upright line is certain. The reading at the end of lines 5 and 7 is also doubtful on the stone: the restoration given above does not suit the traces, which are as indicated in the epigraphic copy. This restoration was given

by Mr. Souter in publishing the inscription from the first imperfect copy in the *Classical Review*, 1897, p. 96, and seems necessary, though we cannot read it on the stone. The last letter in the gap in l. 12 was either γ or σ or ε; the second last was probably σ or ε, but the traces are very slight and might indicate also ρ. The restoration given in the text seems to suit the traces. See the translation in verse on p. 92.

Prof. Ramsay thinks that the spelling Isara is not a mere slip for Isaura, but rather an intentional way of representing the native pronunciation of the name, which was more like Isarwa. In many words where a native sound, approximating to w, occurred, the Greek form and spelling vary very much: *e.g.*, Olba, Oura, Orba, etc., represent a native Orwa or Ourwa.

The epitaph is superior to the commonplace metrical forms which are very frequent on tombstones in the country. The comparison of the dead Zenobios to the hero Hylas is neatly expressed for a village poet. But his ideas of quantity are defective—Hylas in l. 1 must be scanned Hȳlas, and in l. 10 he seems to think that the omission of ς allows the scansion of Ἡράκλεις as a dactyl. ν must be inserted after παισί, in l. 10. Hiatus is often disregarded. But these faults are venial compared with the crimes committed by many village poets in those times.

The ornament is a combination of two different and inconsistent types. The lower part consists of a sunken panel marked off by lines, and a border indicated by difference of level. This form is found very widely, and has nothing distinctive of the locality. Above this is ornament in the scheme characteristic of this district, many examples of which will be found in this paper. The fully expressed schema consists of a central arch or pediment flanked by two narrower pediments, supported on pillars, but the lower half of this schema is here suppressed to make room for the panel. On each side of the panel are five very conventional angular leaves, which also are usual in this district (examples perhaps in No. 24; in No. 14 they are doubled).

Thus the decoration of the stone consists of three parts : (1) A sunk panel to receive the inscription after the type imported into Dorla with other ideas of the Græco-Roman education ; (2) above the panel the established and traditional type of Nova Isaura ; (3) on each side of the panel an Isauran ornament repeated in a meaningless way.

There is no single idea, no plan, no true design in the decoration. The parts are inconsistent with one another. The combination of elements from Greek and native art is quite unintelligent : the artist thinks only of decoration and ornament. Ornament for ornament's sake is the ruling principle in all Anatolian art ; but ornamentation may be intelligent. Here it is unintelligent, and yet the result looked at as a whole has a distinctly decorative effect. Vine branches are represented trailing from a vase in the central arch, but the leaves are not vine leaves, and the branches have not a natural appearance.

The native and Isauran character of a large part of the ornament makes it certain that this stone was carved by a native artisan ; and it is an important observation to start from that there are two influences apparent in Nova Isaura, the indigenous custom and certain borrowed forms learned along with the general Græco-Roman civilisation, which came by way of the great cities on the main lines of imperial communication and trade, especially Iconium.

The device of the sunk panel to receive the inscription is quite common in Iconium. A very ornate example is published by Mr. Cronin in *J.H.S.*, 1902, p. 361.

With regard to the date I quote Prof. Ramsay's opinion :—

"This Isauran inscription probably belongs to the fourth century. I cannot think that so much command of Greek existed in Nova Isaura in the fifth century, when a bishop of Hadrianopolis Phrygiae (a city not very far distant and exposed to similar influences, but more educated, as being close to a great thoroughfare) had to get another person to sign for him because he did not know how to write (A.D. 449). The reason for the degeneration in knowledge and cul-

ture between the fourth and the fifth centuries lies in the general conditions and is almost universal in Asia Minor. On the other hand, this inscription is apparently later than No. 7 ; the lettering is much the same in form, but the art seems later and more under external influence. The end of the third century is not impossible, but the fourth century is the most probable date. A quite unusual command of the Greek language is shown in the metrical epitaphs of this district ; if this epitaph and those in Nos. 41, 69, from the same neighbourhood, published in *J.H.S.*, 1905, pp. 169,* 176, are compared with most of those found in such numbers in Central Anatolia,

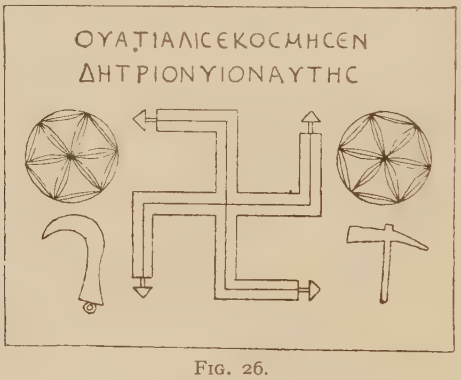



Fig. 26.

it will be observed that these are composed at home in the Isauran territory, with superior knowledge and command of the language."

26. Armasun. R. 1904 : text in Sterrett (*Wolfe Exped.*, p. 36). A drawing is given here for the form of the curved implement. Οὐατίαλις ἐκόσμησεν Δήτριον υἱὸν αὐτῆς. The name is Detrios, not Demetrios.

27. Dorla. R. 1890, 1901, not seen in 1904, and presumably destroyed.

Ἄνδως ἐκόσμησεν Μάξιμαν τὴν θυγατέρα. The copy of 1890

* No. 41 is much improved in *Expositor*, Feb., 1906, p. 153, where read ἱε[ρ]έων as last word in l. 15 (έ lengthened by accent ; or perhaps ἱερε[ι]ῶν), and -ητος ὄχ' ἄρι[στ]ος ἐν ὕμνοις in l. 18, and ἄ]σματα καλὰ [φρ]άσουσι in l. 20.

has Ἄρδως, a name which seems probable in itself; but as that copy was taken after sunset, when the light was fading, the other reading

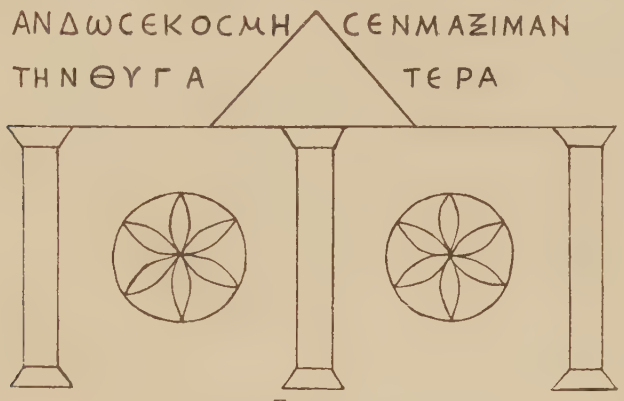



Fig. 27.

must be preferred. Here the ordinary schema has disappeared entirely, and an arrangement in two parts is preferred. No. 28, which is from Almasun, about six miles south on the frontiers of

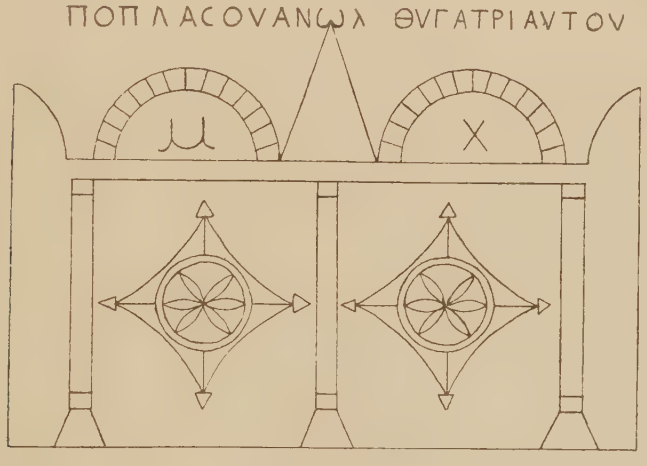



Fig. 28.

Derbe and the Isaurian country, is more like this than any other Dorla stone; hence possibly this has been imported to Dorla.

28. Almasun. R. 1904. Ποπλᾶς Οὐανωλ[ί] *θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ μ. χ.* Prof. Sterrett has published the text (*Wolfe Exped.*, p. 36), but reads Οὐανίᾳ. It is quite possible to take the ω as the crowning member of the pediment; this was observed on the stone, but the letter following is Λ, not Α, and there is space for a letter between it and Θ.* Hence Οὐανωλίς, a by-form of Οὐαναλίς, or in later spelling *βαναλίς*, seems preferable. With the variation in the vowel compare the many examples quoted in *Histor. Geogr. of Asia M.*, p. 437, Τάτταs-Τόττης, Ἄτρᾳα-Ὄτροια, Halala-Loulon, etc. The form

Fig. 29.

Οὐανωλίς would suggest that the penult in Οὐαναλίς is long. This stone, though not belonging to Dorla, is given here for the sake of comparison with No. 27.

29. Dorla. R. 1904. In a dark stable: details sometimes uncertain. *Αὐρ. Σιμωνί[δη]ς Κλεο[νί]κου ἐκόσμησεν Δόμναν τὴν γλυκυτάτην [αὐ]τοῦ σύνβιον μ. χ.* Crosses approximating in shape to the Maltese cross are here used. This is one of the rare cases at Dorla where the two side pediments are suppressed. The name of Simonides, like that of Nestor in No. 20, is probably due to the

* Prof. Sterrett shows this space correctly in his epigraphic copy.

study of Greek literature ; but Nestor became popular in this region owing to the Pamphylian martyr Nestor.

30. Dorla. R. 1890 and 1904. Μάρκος ἐκόσμησε Νάνναν Καικιλίου τὴν γλυκυτάτην αὐτοῦ γύναικα μ. χ. Side pediments suppressed, as in No. 29.

31. Alkaran. R. 1905. This stone was brought with many others from the cemetery described in No. 12. It is unique in style among the Dorla series, being evidently an imitation of the Dorla scheme of ornamentation by an extremely rude and untrained village workman. Its relation to the better specimens of the Dorla scheme may be compared with the relation of Fig. 4 A to Fig. 4 B : it is an

Fig. 30.

example of ignorant imitation, and therefore later than the better class of Dorla monuments. Yet it belongs to the same locality, and is not removed by a very long interval of time. On the other hand the relation between the two pre-Dorla gravestones described in Nos. 12, 18 and the Dorla monuments is that of simpler and earlier work to more developed and later.

The additional ornament with which Fig. 31 is loaded is of a debased and vulgar kind such as might be expected from a village mason. The elaborate zigzag ornament immediately below the inscription is quite in the style of many rude Lycaonian tombstones in the fourth century.* It is very similar to the rough work in line-patterns seen on many late Roman stones along the Wall of

* Examples may be seen below, Figs. 36, 42.

Hadrian in Britain, which is explained as intended to give grip to the plaster laid over the stone. There are many traces of red colour on this stone about the edges of the relief work.

The little round knobs or bosses in the spaces below the zigzag and between the pediments can also be paralleled from the Lycaonian monuments, as Prof. Ramsay reports, though no ex-

Fig. 31.

amples are reproduced in this paper. The rough ornamentation on the columns also is of the fourth century Lycaonian kind.* The fishes between the columns are rude imitations of the dolphins or porpoises that are seen leaping in the Mediterranean, and are evidently copied from works of art carried from the West.

The only explanation that suggests itself of this complete change

* See below, Fig. 48.

of style and character in the same locality is that the Dorla school of trained workmen had perished in the interval. Yet there is no reason to think that the interval was very long. Some great catastrophe happened, probably, which destroyed art, made education worse, and spread the barbarism to which Fig. 31 bears witness. Prof. Ramsay has shown what a ruinous effect the great and systematic massacres of the persecution by Diocletian and his co-Emperors produced in Phrygia (*Cities and Bish.*, chap. x.). The same cause suggests itself for the same phenomenon (which will be exemplified in every monument described in § iv.) in Lycaonia. If this be correct, it would give a date for the Dorla sculptured monuments. They are all earlier than A.D. 303 ; and on No. 18 it has been shown that they are all later than the two monuments which have been assigned to the period 210-240. This entirely confirms the chronological reasoning stated by Prof. Ramsay in the conclusion of my paper on the Dorla monuments in *J.H.S.*, 1904, where he assigned the period of the Dorla art as 260-340, but showed a decided leaning to the earlier part of that period. Subsequent discovery and study have now made him definitely prefer the period A.D. 250-300.

The grave of the physician Priscus must then be placed during the fourth century ; and in *Expositor*, Feb., 1906, p. 158, the date of the class of metrical epitaphs describing first the virtues of the deceased and at the end naming the maker of the tomb is given as A.D. 340-360. In the same paper the importance attached to physicians in the Anatolian Church of that period is described.

32. Fig. 32 shows a piece of embroidery which Mrs. Ramsay purchased in Dorla, where it had been handed down for many generations in a family resident there.

The pattern is a variation of the design characteristic of Isaura Nova, adapted to suit the different material, and repeated as often as the width of the cloth permits. There are three pointed pediments, that in the middle considerably larger than the other two, and all having a boss above the point. The pillars supporting the central

pediment have been transformed into palm trees, which rise above the spring of the arch and incline over the side pediments. The side columns have disappeared to make room for a fanciful ornament of little cypress trees and large round flowers, apparently roses. Beneath each of the side pediments is a design in squares, seemingly a modification of the net which appears on two of the monuments (Nos. 13 and 14), and perhaps suggested by the latticed balcony common in the country. Immediately under the central pediment is a repetition on a smaller scale of the Isauran design, this time with pointed side pieces, of a form similar to that which appears in Nos. 6 G, 14, flanking a low round arch : below this again are a flower of some sort and a long garland hanging from the columns, or trees, very much like the garlands on the tomb of Bishop Theophilus, except that it is fastened to each pillar in two places, instead of merely by the ends.

To what period the set of monuments just given should be ascribed, is a complicated and difficult question. But the following arguments, taken from Prof. Ramsay, may be of some use in determining it.

In the first place, as was remarked in connection with § ii., No. 7, there were no bishops of Isaura Nova after about 474 ; hence the tombs of the three bishops, Nos. 7, 9, 13, must be anterior to that date, and so furnish a definite standard by which to judge of the rest. For the majority of these stones clearly belong to much the same period. The style of the lettering on the sculptured monuments is quite uniform, and shows little change or development even on the latest monuments of the series. Had they covered a long period of time, external as well as internal causes must have contributed to modify the style. Moreover, a number of the stones afford themselves some indications as to date (remarked on in the description of each), all of which point to the period between A.D. 250 and 400.

By far the larger number of the names occurring on these monuments are purely Anatolian ; such are Oas, Mammas, Tabeis,

PLATE VI.

Old Turkish Embroidery at Dorla (Mrs. Ramsay).

*To face page 56.*

Nanna, Sisamoas, [Ka?]ddis, Thouthou, Niôs, Balaththis, Papas, Okluos ?, Ouatialis, Detrios. And though most of the stones are certainly Christian, distinctively Christian names scarcely occur at all. It has been pointed out by Prof. Ramsay (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii., p. 492) that personal names of obviously Christian type begin to appear in inscriptions not earlier than the middle of the third century, Paulos, as is to be expected, being the earliest and most common. But it is scarcely possible that in Nova Isaura, a Christian city possessing bishops, deacons, and various other Christian officials whose titles occur on the monuments, there should be so marked an absence of distinctively Christian names later than the third or, at the outside, than the first quarter of the fourth century. Even in the fourth century the majority of the names occurring in the lists of bishops are distinctively Christian and Greek.

The Roman names, which are much more frequent than Greek on these monuments, point also to the same period. The names of the reigning families were widely adopted in the provinces ; thus the fact that Julius does not occur except on one very plain monument, obviously one of the earliest and not published in this paper, goes to prove that the inscriptions are later than A.D. 150. Aurelius, used as a praenomen, is especially characteristic of the period between 212 and 300. It did not come into use until after 212, and is scarcely ever found later than 350. (*Cf.* Prof. Ramsay's hypothesis advanced in *J.H.S.*, 1883, p. 30, and confirmed by numerous examples seen since that time.) Valerius (see No. 10) probably came into fashion under Diocletian about A.D. 300. On the other hand the name Flavius is not found at all on these monuments, and this indicates that they are as a whole earlier than 350 ; for it may be taken as certain that some proportion of the persons who died between 350 and 450 must have been named Flavius after the family of Constantine.

Finally, the entire absence of the Christian symbolism characteristic of the fourth century points to a still earlier date. The

monogram ☧, its later form ⸸, and the letters A ω, are not found on any of the obviously Christian monuments of Dorla, though they are all common in the neighbouring towns of Lycaonia* (*cf.* § iv. of this paper, Nos. 56, 59). The Christian symbolism found at Dorla is of a veiled and almost cryptic kind which seems to belong rather to the period before Constantine. These Dorla monuments might perhaps be assigned to the period 250-300 ; and they may be safely placed between A.D. 250 and 340.

"We are here in the presence of a distinctly Christian art. It is not meant that every artisan in Nova Isaura who worked on these monuments, or every person who used them, was a Christian ; but that the development arose during the inspiration and quickening of mind and activity caused by the general acceptance of the new religion in the city. It is no isolated phenomenon, but the invariable experience of history, that the spread of a new faith is accompanied by an invigoration of the spirit and character of the people : witness the Arabs of the seventh and eighth centuries under the inspiration of Mohammedanism. Where the religion is spread by external causes or by force, it does not so touch the spirit. In this sense the art of Nova Isaura is a Christian art, and its first development cannot be placed earlier than the third century. It used, of course, older forms, already existing in pagan use ; but it used them with freedom and novelty for its own purposes."

[There are in Dorla many stones (specimens of which are given in *J.H.S.*, 1904) adorned with scraps of the typical Dorla ornament. These are cheap or later tombstones, and show the same degradation and degeneration of art which is the most striking feature of the monuments to be described in § iv.]

* Mr. Cronin has published a good example of a complete series of inscriptions of a village of Lycaonia in *J.H.S.*, 1902, pp. 358-367. They may be placed roughly between 350 and 600 ; but not one of them could be considered earlier than any but the very latest stones at Nova Isaura, and the latest stones there do not belong to the class which has just been described.

### III. SOUTHERN LYCAONIA.

The monuments of this region as a rule are either mere imitations of Greek (as is common in Iconium), or very poor and debased (as in the villages); but there are two remarkable exceptions in the most southern part of the country, both imitated from the Isaurian style. On the geographical division between southern and northern Lycaonia, see *Jahresheft d. k. k. Inst.*, 1904 (Beiblatt), p. 57.

33. One side of the sarcophagus of Sidamaria, in Lycaonia, now in the Imperial Museum, Stamboul. When we come to the sarcophagus, found in the same district, and so nearly resembling in scheme of ornament the stones just given, we can scarcely doubt that it is a later development of the same principle; the native schema has been embellished and added to through contact with Greek artistic ideas. Here we have still several columns supporting rounded pediments or arches, a series of figures in the niches between the pillars, and within each arch an elaborate variant of the shell which has already appeared in a simple form on Nos. 8 and 22. The lower portion of the scheme is partially suppressed to make room for the figures, and both the capitals of the columns and the pediments are decorated with highly elaborate open-work tracery. The columns themselves are twisted, a style already appearing in No. 22 (also No. 10). But the Greek sculpture has now become the ruling element, and the native scheme only appears in the background. The two elements are, however, quite inconsistent with one another: a hunting scene of the Greek fashion is placed amid the columns and arches of the South Anatolian schema, and wherever the latter interferes too much with the Greek figures it is suppressed. On two other sides of the same sarcophagus pointed central pediments appear flanked by rounded arches. This style must be attributed to an Anatolian city where Greek work was well known; but there is probably too much of the Greek element for a central Anatolian city, like Nova Isaura or even Iconium, and the scale of the monument is too great for the humbler workshops of

those cities. In *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1901, p. 358, Prof. Ramsay pointed out that two great examples of this developed art had been found, one in the Lycaonian city Sidamaria, and the other in the maritime Isaurian city Seleucia, and that the sculptural ornament on both was so similar as to prove their origin from a single workshop, and hence he inferred that the point of common origin must have been the great city of Tarsus, where alone an atelier capable of producing such works is likely to have existed. Thence one example was carried over the great Roman road through the Cilician Gates into Lycaonia, and the other by sea to Seleucia. This hypothesis suits all the known conditions. Tarsus attracted the aspiring youth of Lycaonia and Cappadocia (see article "Tarsus" in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, iv., p. 685), and was itself influenced by them while it influenced their development.

34. This stone lies on a slight rising ground, about two or three miles south-west from Gudelisin (the site of Derbe), close to the road leading to Laranda, and on the south side of the road. There are traces here of some later foundation, including a large church.

Νοῦννος καὶ Οὐαλέριος ἐκόσμησαν Παῦλον τὸν μάρτυραν μ[νήμης] χ[άριν].

The scheme of ornament is clearly that characteristic of the Dorla monuments. It is to be noticed that this stone was obviously not made to order, but must have been bought carved and ready in the sculptor's workshop, and that the inscription was added after purchase. The buyers, wishing to put the epitaph in large letters on the most prominent part of the stone, cut away part of one of the columns supporting the central arch in order to make room for the lettering. The material is limestone; and the stone may possibly have been purchased in Dorla and carried ten miles to Derbe.

The accusative form μάρτυραν is quite common in Phrygian Greek inscriptions. See pp. 132, 153, 224, of the present volume.

This is the only stone of the exact Dorla type which has been found except at Dorla or the neighbouring village of Alkaran. We

PLATE VII.

SARCOPHAGUS OF SIDAMARIA.

*To face page* 60.

must suppose that it was purchased at Dorla and brought thence to Derbe, ten miles away. It seems at first strange that the Christians of Derbe should go to a small place like Isaura for their gravestones. The following reason suggests itself as probable. As has already been pointed out, a new and definitely Christian style of art had its origin at Isaura Nova (Dorla) ; this art had become known to the surround-

Fig. 34.

ing country, and the desire to have for their martyr's grave a monument of the type clearly recognised as Christian might have prompted the friends of Paulus to make their purchase in the little town where such monuments were known to be made, and convey this large and very heavy stone thence to Derbe.

The stone has the appearance of having formed part of a wall at some period. It is thick, quite unwrought on the back, with the

sides roughly cut to fit a place in a wall of squared blocks, so that only the front was exposed to view. That seems to have been the case also with the principal monumental stones at Dorla, but the latter are not so thick in proportion to their height and breadth as the stone of Paulus the Martyr.

The formula with the verb ἐκόσμησαν is common in the epitaphs of Lycaonia about the third and fourth centuries ; and it is natural to infer that this stone was, like the rest of the Dorla monuments, a gravestone, and not a mere honorary inscription in a building erected at a later date to a martyr of former time. On the other hand, the stone seems to have formed part of the wall of some building, and the possibility must be admitted that this may have been a fourth-century chapel in honour of a martyr of an earlier period. Paul, unless he suffered under Julian, which is improbable, must have belonged to the times before Constantine, and if the stone was part of a true grave erected soon after his death this would suit the view here taken of the period to which the Dorla monuments belong.

The inscription is engraved in letters which are different in shape from and later than the letters on the Dorla monuments ; and it is possible that the inscription may have been cut in the fourth century on an old stone, regardless of the ornament.

This inscription has been published by MM. Radet and Paris in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1886, p. 509, with the omission of the final N in μάρτυραν, and without any mention of the sculptural decoration ; but in these lies all the interest and importance of the stone.

Both these monuments belong to places on or close to the road from Dorla to Tarsus through the Cilician Gates. From about A.D. 137 onwards southern Lycaonia and Isauria were united with Cilicia in a province called the three Eparchies, of which Tarsus was the capital. Trade and intercourse moved now towards Tarsus from Isauria generally.

## IV. NORTHERN LYCAONIA (PROSEILEMMENE).

This district, on the north side of Boz-Dagh, was originally part of Phrygia. It was afterwards included in Galatia under the name of the Acquired (Land), προσειλημμένη (χώρα). Its history is extremely obscure, and it is not even mentioned in the index to Forbiger's *Handbuch d. alten Geographie*, or Cramer's geographical *Description of Asia Minor*. Ptolemy is the only ancient authority that gives the name, which is corrupted more or less in all the manuscripts : * he mentions it as part of the Province Galatia.

In his study of Lycaonia in the *Jahreshefte des k. k. Oest. Arch. Instituts*, 1904, p. 65 ff. (Beiblatt), Prof. Ramsay explains the origin of the name and the extent of the district. The Galatian tribe Trokmi acquired possession of the country about 164 B.C., and thus the name originated. Celtic personal names often occur in the epitaphs of the district, which was a part of the Roman Province Galatia from 25 B.C., until the Province Lycaonia was formed in 372, when it was incorporated in this new Province.

The following series of monuments, which are fair average specimens of several hundreds of gravestones found in the district Proseilemmene, are of quite a different style from those above described. They are Stelai or tall slabs of stone, the top of which is cut into a pointed (or less frequently a rounded) shape, and sometimes very elaborately ornamented, with carved work or tracery along the edges, and figures, or household implements of various kinds, occupying the central space. Horizontal lines separate this pointed part from the rest of the stone, giving it the appearance of a pediment.

As to the lower part of the stone, there are two main types of decoration. In the first, the inscription is placed between two columns, which support the pediment-like upper part. These

* προσειλημενῖται, προσερλιμενίται, πρὸς ἑρλιμενίται.

columns are indicated with varying degrees of completeness. Sometimes they have capitals, and even bases ; sometimes they are represented merely by vertical lines running from the lower edge of the pediment to the foot of the stone ; and occasionally they disappear altogether, as in Nos. 43, 44, being replaced by a tablet or panel bearing the inscription.

In the second type, the lower part of the stone represents a door, divided by cross lines into four panels. The lintel and door-posts are indicated, as well as the door itself, and the whole is surmounted by the pointed or rounded pediment seen in the other type of decoration. The panels of the door are generally ornamented with symbols referring to ordinary life—a basket, a mirror, a comb, and so forth ; and one or two knockers are often represented.

In the two classes of monuments described in the earlier part of this paper there is clearly shown a certain artistic progress as time goes on. New motives are added, and more complicated devices in decoration were employed during the later period. The workmen who made those monuments felt a certain love of and pleasure in decorative work ; and they tried to make the monuments beautiful by lavishing a great amount of minute ornament on them.

In the third class, examples of which will now be given, there is no progress to be discerned. The monuments grow poorer in design in the later period, yet a continuity in character is clearly seen. The process was always the same : older types were preserved, but in a degenerate and broken-down form. Parts and fragments of the older types were preserved and repeated, but the later workmen had evidently forgotten the original meaning of the forms which they were carving, and in several cases they show unmistakably that new meaning had come to be attached to the old forms. The new meaning often had a Christian character : some fragment of an older type, separate from the original accompaniments, was found susceptible of being interpreted in a symbolic religious sense, and was made more and more distinctly suitable in form to that new Christian

sense. A good example is the old Phrygian type of the door. This had in the old Phrygian religion a meaning, which was explained by Prof. Ramsay in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1883, p. 254 f.: "According to Phrygian ideas there were two necessary elements in the sepulchral monument, an altar and a door . . . the door was the passage of communication between the world of life and the world of death, the altar was the place on which the living deposited the offerings due to the dead". Of the various types of sepulchral monument, which are described in the pages quoted, the most elaborate and complete is the sepulchral temple: here the altar and the door are parts of the whole. "In other cases the rock-altar is the most important part (or even the whole) of the monument." * Very often, also, the monument takes the form of "a slab of marble or other stone carved to imitate a doorway". In these two classes one element, either the door or the altar, is suppressed. But on a certain number of Phrygian "altar-stones" bearing sepulchral inscriptions, the word "Door" (*θύρα*) is engraved by itself on the lower part of the stone; and one gravestone is called, in the epitaph inscribed on it, "the Altar and the Door" (*loc. cit.*, p. 253). These examples prove that, even when the door was suppressed, "the fundamental idea was the same," and the altar was understood, though not expressed, as part of the "fundamental idea". The religious belief, which determined the idea of the sepulchral monument, was that "the dead man has returned to his divine mother," he is "identified with the divine nature," and his grave is the monument of a deity.

Now the inscribing of the word "Door" on gravestones in Western Phrygia, as seen in the examples given in that article, is analogous to the East Phrygian custom, seen in the monuments of the district which are published in the present article, pt. iv.; the door is indicated on the stele, not by inscribing a mere word, but by carving the representation of a door. The stele is itself a degenerate

* I quote from a copy of the article, annotated and improved by the author.

and broken-down indication of the entire monument, the "Home" of the dead and the temple of the god, including door, altar and house; and on the stele the door at least is shown.

As the lines dividing the panels on the door form a cross,* on Christian stones they are apt to lose their original significance and come to be regarded simply as the symbol of the cross, while all the accompaniments and details which mark the subject as a door are suppressed. Thus the original Pagan type appears in a reduced form, as in No. 56, where the ornament has disappeared and only the cross is left. This is a good example of the way in which the new religion adopted and gave a different meaning to the symbols of the older faith. The inscription there leaves no doubt as to the religion. In other cases, as in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1883, p. 424, it is doubtful whether the cross is merely a degenerate indication of the pagan idea, or is used as a Christian symbol; in that place Prof. Ramsay was disposed to regard the cross as Christian; but in *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, ii., p. 705, he changed his opinion and regarded the monument as of pagan origin.

The group of monuments which will now be described, though so poor and inartistic and degraded in character, forms an essential part of the argument of this paper. They belong to a region which was in much easier communication with Rome and the West than Isauria could possibly be. Many of them are found at Serai or Ladik or other places on the great trade route leading from the east direct to Ephesus and Rome: others belong to places lying to the north of that route but in immediate and easy connection with it. Yet the monuments show no trace of Roman influence, so far as the art is concerned: they were mere variations, growing poorer and more degenerate as time went on, of old native types. Isauria had much less opportunity of receiving influence from Rome than north

* See Fig. 34 A. Examples may be seen in *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii., p. 661, and *Mittheil. Inst. Athen.*, xix., pp. 315 ff., where the cross formed by the divisions of the door is clearly shown.

Lycaonia had ; and therefore the development of new forms which we found to occur in Isauria, on this as on other grounds already stated, cannot reasonably be explained by Roman influence.

The drawings here reproduced make no pretension to accuracy in detail. They are founded in most cases on hasty sketches, made during the few minutes which could be devoted to copying an in-

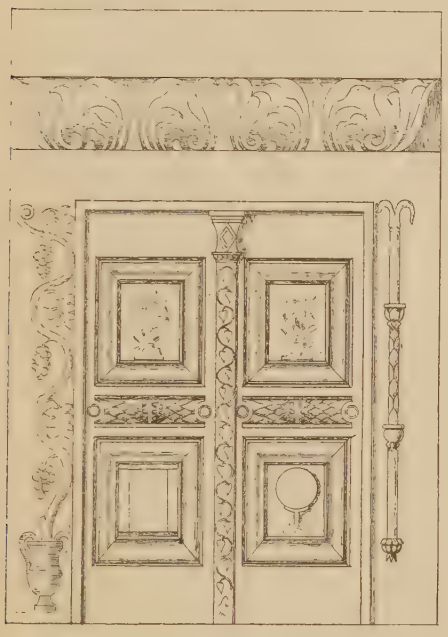


Fig. 35 A.

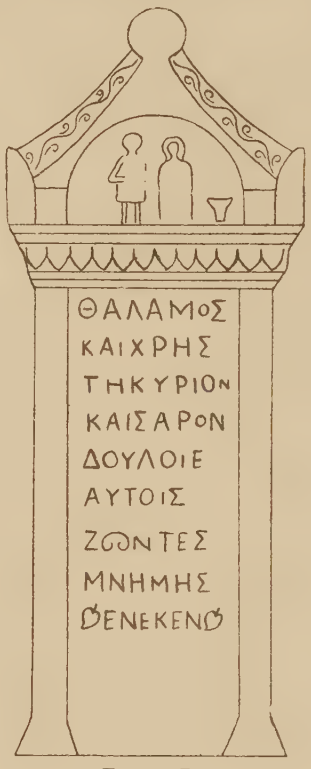



Fig. 35 B.

scription and making a rough representation of the stone. But, though they are not exact, they are sufficient to give a fairly correct idea of the general character of the monuments, though in some cases they are not so rough and coarse as the originals.

35. Serai-Inn (R. 1905). *Θάλαμος καὶ Χρηστὴ κυρί(ω)ν Καισάρ(ω)ν δοῦλοι ἑαυτοῖς ζῶντες μνήμης ἕνεκεν.*

A stele of elaborate design. The pediment, which rests on an architrave ornamented with a rude form of the egg-pattern moulding, has two side-pieces and a round akroterion. In the more elaborate stelai of this type the columns and the pediment are in relief, and the space between is a recess in which stand the figures carved in relief. In the simpler and cheaper stelai the forms are merely indicated by lines incised on a plain surface, giving the appearance of an arch. On this stele are the figures of the dedicators Thalamos and Chreste. Beside the latter is a basket. The bases of the supporting columns are indicated, though not the capitals.

The position and probable duties of Thalamos, an Imperial slave, are explained by Prof. Ramsay in an account of the mines at Zizima near Ladik (*Classical Review*, 1905, pp. 367 ff., 429). His wife was also an Imperial slave. The date of this monument was under the reign of conjoint Emperors, such as Marcus Aurelius and Verus or Diocletian and Maximian. ο for ω in the gen. plur. suggests a late date.

36. Tcheshmeli-Zebir (R. 1905). The inscription is very inaccurately engraved. Μάρκος καὶ Σούσους ἰδίων ἐκ τῶν Μαρκίᾳ καὶ Ζοίδι ἰδίας μνήμνη χάριν. The engraver has omitted θυγατράσιν? after ἰδίαις and transposed ἐκ τῶν, which should come before ἰδίων. Sousous must here be the name of a woman, wife of Markos.

In the pediment are two very rude female figures. Beneath the inscription are a basket and a brazier. The capitals of the columns are indicated by vertical lines. The six-leaved rosette in the akroterion is probably a Christian symbol: see on No. 7.

Small braziers of the kind here represented, or something approaching it, are still used in Asia Minor; they hold charcoal, and serve instead of fires. These braziers are frequently depicted on stelai, sometimes with a pan placed upon them, as in Nos. 38, 42.

37. Serai-Inn (R. 1905). Ἀμ[α?]ις Τειμείου τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἀδελπῇ Τερτύλλῃ καὶ αὐτῇ ζῶσ(α) μν[ή]μης κά[ρ]ι[ς].

The akroterion is of a more elaborate and an earlier form than

usual. The centre of the pediment is plain, but the edges decorated with tracery in incised lines. The capitals of the columns also are indicated. Under the inscription are two spindles with distaffs and two baskets.

The variation between $\phi$ and $\pi$ in ἀδελφός, ἀδελφή, is common in Phrygian epitaphs, and many similar examples in other words might be quoted.

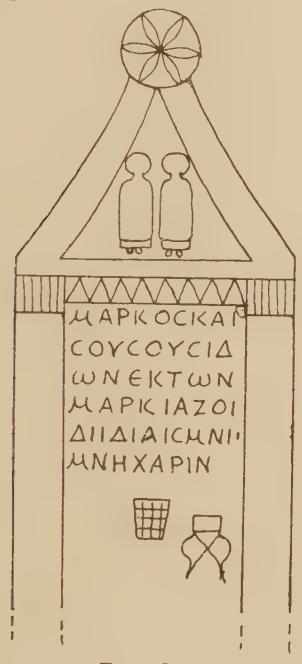



Fig. 36.

Fig. 37.

38. Sinanli (R. 1905). Θεοδότη Φρον[ίμ]ῳ ἀνδρὶ γλυκ[υ]τάτῳ καὶ ἀωρῳ μνη[μνήσ]μης χάρειν καὶ Τυρανίδι μητρὶ ἁγνῇ μὲν ὡς Ἄρτεμις ἔργα δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐνθάδε κῖτε Τυρανὶς καὶ ἑαυτῇ ζῶσα ἐποίησεν.

The top of the stone is broken away. Below the inscription are two distaffs and spindles, then a small pan with a handle resting on a brazier, between two tables on each of which stands a large round vessel.

It is doubtful how the inscription should be punctuated: ἔργα δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς may refer to Tyranis, or may be the beginning of a new sentence and the subject of κῖτε. In the former case, the phrase would be an epithet balancing ἁγνὴ μὲν ὡς Ἄρτεμις "who was pure as Artemis, and her occupations (were those) of Athena"; in the latter, ἔργα δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐνθάδε κῖτε must be taken as a sentence by

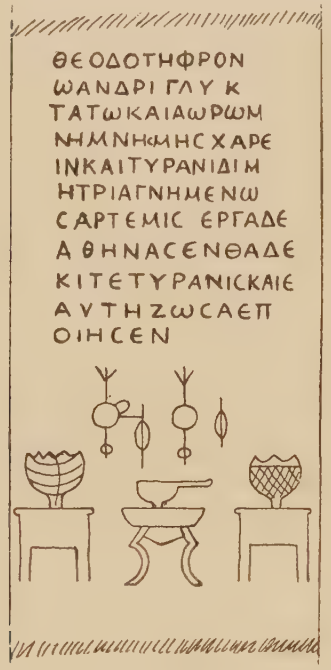



Fig. 38.

Fig. 39.

itself, and the word κῖτε must mean "are carved on this stone"; ἔργα is to be understood as referring to the articles represented on the lower part of the stele. In either case the construction is utterly ungrammatical, betraying the illiterate character of the composer. The former interpretation seems preferable.

39. Azak (R. 1905). Ἀ[μά]ντιος Ἀλι[. . .]τος τῇ ἰδίᾳ νύμφῃ Ἰουλίαν[ῇ] ἀνέστησεν μνήμης χάριν.

A stele of simple character. In the pediment are two baskets and two tall vessels, possibly jars of some kind.

Nymphe in the epitaphs of Phrygia seems to denote a daughter-in-law. As the father erects the tomb to a Nymphe in this and many other cases, it may probably be understood that the sons with their wives lived in a great household along with their father, re-

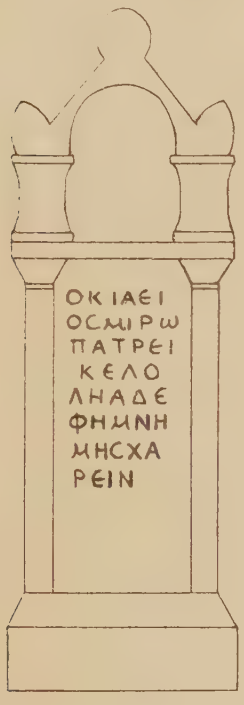



Fig. 40.

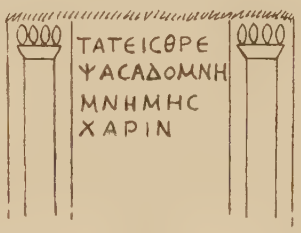



Fig. 41.

maining to a certain degree under his authority. See pp. 121, 150, of the present volume.

40. Kara-Bagh-Yaila (R. 1905). Ὀκιαειος Μίρῳ πατρεὶ κὲ Λο[ύ]λῃ ἀδε[λ]φῇ μνήμης χάρειν.

The upper part of the stone is more elaborate, the pediment itself being raised on two short pillars resting upon a plain architrave supported by the usual columns. Other examples of this form occur.

Here too as in No. 35 we see the curved line giving the pediment the appearance of an arch.

Miros was a very common name in this district, and in many cases the epitaphs in which it occurs are clearly Christian. On the meaning of the name see *Expositor*, 1906, vol. i., p. 149.

41. Tcheshmeli-Zebir (R. 1905). Τάτεις θρέψασα Δόμνῃ μνήμης χάριν.

Stele erected to an alumna by the foster-mother who brought her up.* The form of the side columns is simpler and ruder than usual : the egg pattern is used unintelligently to ornament the capitals of the column. Degeneration has gone here almost to the utmost extreme, consistent with retaining the character of the stele. The upper part is broken.

42. Tcheshmeli-Zebir (R. 1905). Πατρόφιλος ἐιδίῳ πατρεὶ γλυκυτάτῳ Αὐγου[σ]τῷ ἀνέστησεν μνήμ[η]ς χάριν.

A rough representation of columns and architrave with egg-pattern ornament, almost as degenerate, and quite as rude, as the last. The top of the stone is broken away. Between the columns is a very rude figure of a man wearing a short tunic, and a cap ; beside him a two-handled vase standing on a brazier, and a large oinochoe on the ground. The columns are here seen on the way to disappearance ; at the base of the stone they have lost the character of pillars, and are joined by a cross line, so as to look like the sides of a panel.

The name Augusta occurs several times in Christian inscriptions of the district, and probably Augustus also was Christian. The use of Augustus, Augusta, in this way could not begin before the triumph of Constantine ; and doubtless originated in the exultation of the Christians in their Christian Augusti during the fourth century.

* In Phrygian Greek it is possible that θρεψάσᾳ should be regarded as a Dorizing dative (for θρεψάσῃ), and that the tomb was erected by Tateis to her foster-mother Domna.

43. Serai-Inn (R. 1904). Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μῖρος ἀνέστησα τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ μου πατρὶ Παύλῳ κὲ τῇ μητρί μου Βασιλίσσῃ κὲ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν τὴν ἰστήλην ταύτην μνήμης χάριν.*

On this stele and the next, the columns supporting the pediment have disappeared altogether, their places being taken by a slightly sunk

Fig. 42.

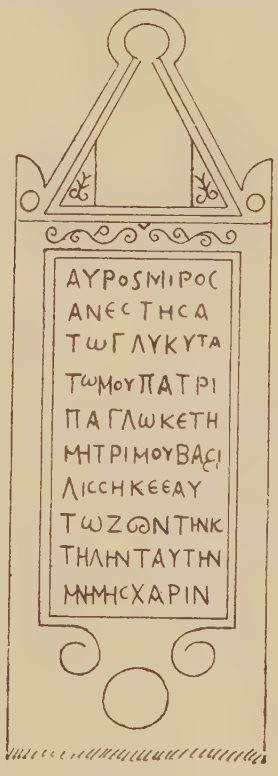



Fig. 43.

ornamental panel bearing the inscription. The pediment still remains. In many stones resembling this in type the last lingering traces of columns at the two sides of the stele have disappeared, and the panel is surrounded by tracery on three sides. Here there is only tracery at the top, and the lines at the side of the panel may be regarded as

* By a slip I have put T for Y in l. 5.

survivals of the lines indicating the inner edge of the columns, while the curves at the foot of the upright lines are variations of the pedestals.

44. Dedeler (1905). Ἀυρ(ήλιος) Μνησίθεις υἱὸς Διομήδου σὺ[ν] *τῇ συνβίῳ μου* Κυρακῇ *ἀνεστήσαμεν τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ ἡμῶν υἱῷ* Ἑρμῇ *μνήμης χάριν.*

Here even the pediment scarcely retains its proper character; it is no longer clearly divided from the lower part. The cross placed

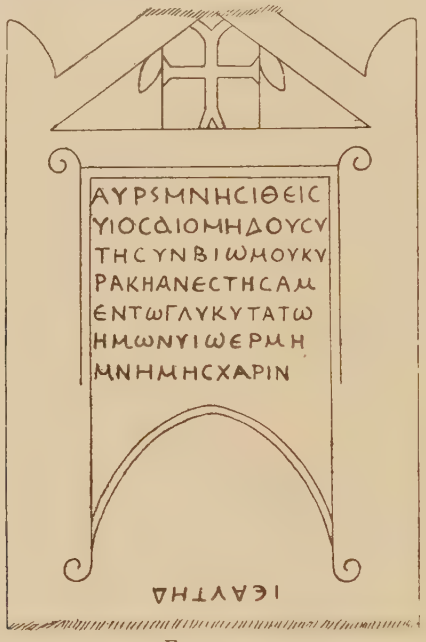



Fig. 44.

in it shows the stone to be Christian; its slightly unusual form is probably due merely to purposes of ornament. The mixture of a pagan divine name, Hermes, two thoroughly Christian names, Mnesitheos and Kyriakos, and a name from pagan epic literature, is characteristic of the mixed character of Lycaonian Christian society in the late third or early fourth century: no attempt seems to have been made to compel uniformity of conduct, but much room was left for individual freedom and a large spirit of tolerance prevailed.

The same was the case in the western and more civilised parts of Phrygia in the third century (see Prof. Ramsay in the *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii., pp. 485, 503 f.).

Kyrake for Kyriake shows a pronunciation akin to modern Greek, in which Kyra for Kyria is common in vulgar speech. Mnesitheos is treated like a noun ending in -ios.

45. Kozlu (R. 1906). Αὐρ(ηλία) Θέκλα τυγάτηρ Σισίνου ἀνέστησα τῷ ἀνδρὶ μο[υ] Μεννέου εὐλαβεστάτο(υ) πρεσβυθέ[ρου.

A stone not unlike the preceding, though a step further from the original type. The top of the stone is square, and the pediment,

Fig. 45.

represented only by incised lines, forms the upper part of the tablet on which the inscription is placed.

The name Thekla was very common in Christian families in Lycaonia during the fourth century.

46. Besh-Ishekli (R. 1905). Βιάνωρ καὶ Ἠλίας Φιλάνθῳ ἀνεψιῷ μνήμης χάριν. Φ[ίλ]ανθος καὶ Ῥοδόπη Φ[ιλ]άνθῳ ἀνεψιῷ μνήμης χάριν.

This is a fair specimen of the door-ornament on the shaft of a grave-stele, with pediment above. The inscription, as is usual on stelai of this type, is placed on the lintel of the door; in this case,

however, owing to lack of room, the last words are on the door itself. The circle on the upper left-hand panel probably represents a knocker.

Fig. 46.

In the pediment appears the six-leaved rosette within a circle, which may be taken to indicate that the stone is Christian * (see on

* The name Elias also is a proof of Christian or Jewish (probably Jewish-Christian) origin.

No. 7). Just beneath it are four objects of uncertain character, perhaps implements connected with some trade. The curious ornament just under the point of the pediment seems to be purely decorative and without any symbolical meaning.

47. Sinanli (R. 1905). [ . . . . ]λειος Τα[ρ]ελλ[ιαν]ὸς Ἐμιλιάδι [τῇ σ]υνβίῳ καὶ Δούδᾳ θυγατρί.

The upper part of this stele is broken off: the lower represents

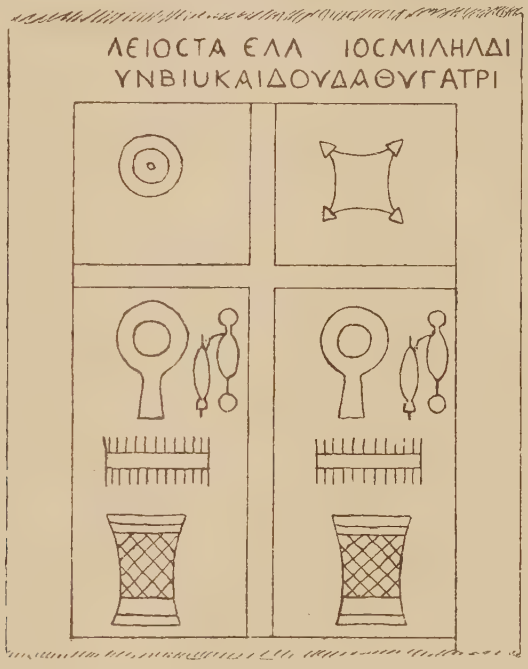



Fig. 47.

the door with its four panels. The inscription is written across the lintel. In the upper left-hand panel is an ornament composed of three concentric circles, which is perhaps a knocker of more elaborate form than that on the preceding stele; possibly, however, it is merely decorative. Whether the object in the corresponding right-hand panel (which is of frequent occurrence on "door-stones" in this district) is only ornamental, or whether it is some symbol, remains

uncertain. It may be compared with a similar though more elaborate design on a stone found at Dorla (Fig. 28). Each of the lower panels contains a looking-glass, a spindle and distaff with the wool attached, a comb, and a wool-basket of the kind common on Greek stelai.

Ἐμιληάδι is dative of the Latin name Aemilia ;* but the inscription is much defaced. The native name Δούδα is common in this district, and appears also on No. 48. Tarellianus is a possible

Fig. 48.

name ; but perhaps Garellianus, metathesis of Galerianus, is more probable.

48. Kadi-Oglu (R. 1905). Δούδα Νεικ[η]φό[ρ]ῳ τῷ [ἰδίῳ? ἀ]νδρί [καὶ ἑαυτῇ.

In the pediment is a female figure, probably the Meter Zizimene (the great goddess of this part of Lycaonia from Iconium northwards) accompanied by a lion. Several dedications to this goddess have been found in Iconium and the neighbourhood ; *cf.*

* Declined as if it were Aemilias.

*Class. Rev.*, Oct., 1905, pp. 367-370. At one side of the pediment is an incised circle, at the other a spindle attached to a distaff with wool, and a basket. Above is a double star.

This type of the goddess with her lion appears, with variations, on a whole series of these monuments. Sometimes both goddess and lion are represented, sometimes one of them alone, and sometimes merely the head and shoulders of the goddess. It has been pointed out above that in the old Phrygian custom, the erection of a grave was an act of dedication to a deity. Hence the formula for the dedication of a tomb was very much the same as that for the dedication of a votive tablet, and the type suitable for the votive offering could also be used on a gravestone.* The Mother Zizimene was a local form of Cybele, and the forms used in reliefs dedicated to her were of the kind usual in the worship of Cybele. The commonest type showed the goddess, either enthroned or standing, between two lions ; and sometimes small figures, representing the dedicators and worshippers, were added. Many stones in this region, proved to be sepulchral by epitaphs, bear reliefs which are parts of the full scene as it appears on votive reliefs in many Phrygian towns. The present relief is one of them. It is evidently a gravestone : both the epitaph and the ἔργα Ἀθηνᾶς,† work-basket with spindle and distaff, prove that. The figures in the centre are evidently imitated from the votive reliefs ; but only one lion appears, and it is larger than the female figure. A doubt might be felt in this case, whether the female figure was intended by the artist to be the goddess or only the deceased woman, whose grave was to be adorned with this stone. It would be impossible to say what was the exact intention of the artist, and it would be equally unnecessary, for, as has been pointed out already, the dead person was worshipped as identified with the divine nature, so that the making of the grave was an act of religious worship and the grave was the temple and home of the god. The artist intended the female figure to be the represen-

* See p. 70 of this volume. † *Cf.* No. 38.

tation of the dead person deified as the Mother-Goddess. "The dead man returns in death to the mother who bore him." In the goddess's own country every dead person, man and woman alike, goes back to and is merged in the nature of the goddess.

Hence it is not necessary to explain why a female figure appears on this gravestone, which belonged to a man, or to point out that (as is proved by many other examples) the gravestones were kept in stock ready for sale, and were used without much regard to the suitability of the relief to the person or persons buried in the grave. In this case Douda purchased the gravestone, and if she thought at

Fig. 49.

all about suitability, she saw in the relief the goddess, the mother of all life, to whose bosom her husband had gone back in death.

49. Ladik (R. 1882).

A stele without much ornament, and considerably defaced. The inscription is quite obliterated. In the pediment is the figure of the goddess, standing between her lion and a smaller female figure, possibly an attendant or a worshipper.

Beside the latter is a basket. If the religious ideas, which originally underlay such representations, were still alive when the relief was placed over the grave, the central figure would have to be

interpreted as the dead, deified in the form of the Mother-Goddess, and the small figure on the right as a survivor worshipping at the grave ; but those ideas had certainly grown vague and faint ; and such representations as this were probably used as mere survivals of old forms, which were hardly understood.

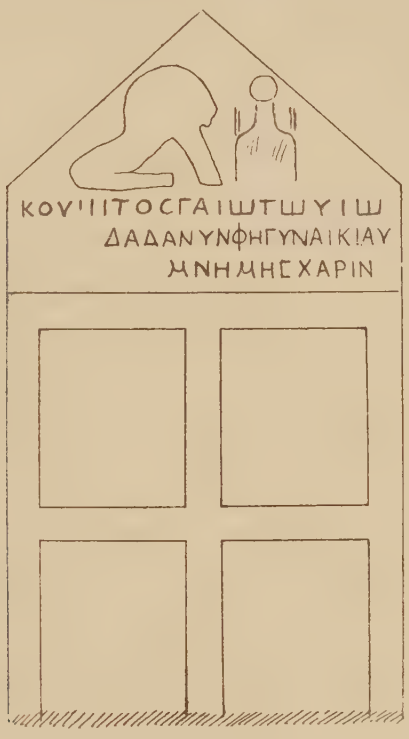



Fig. 50.

50. Tcheshmeli-Zebir (R. 1905). Κού[ιν]τος Γαίῳ τῷ υἱῷ [καὶ] Δάδᾳ νύνφῃ γυναικὶ αὐ[τοῦ] μνήμης χάριν.

The dedicator of this stele was apparently poor ; for, though the scheme is almost complete, the amount of work expended on it has been reduced to a minimum. The panels of the door are without carving, the pediment absolutely plain, except for the extremely rude representation of the goddess and her lion.

The word *νύμφη* is often used in Phrygian and Lycaonian epitaphs in the sense of "son's wife": see No. 39. In the present case Quintus made the grave for Gaius his son and Dada his daughter-in-law the wife of Quintus.

51. Azak (R. 1905). Διομήδης Τ[ ] *τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυν[αικὶ.*

A simple stone, now much worn, with very little carving. A rude figure of the goddess occupies the centre of the pediment,

Fig. 51.

without the lion which accompanies her in the more complete schema. The form leaves no doubt that the goddess, and not a mere woman, was intended in this case.

52. Serai-Inn (R. 1906). Νάνας Βαβεῖ *τῇ θυ]γιτρὶ μνήμης [χάρ]ιν.* ι, not α, on the stone.

This Christian gravestone is a proof how far the old religious meaning of the type had been forgotten in the late third century. The type is here reduced to the head and shoulders of the goddess,

placed under a round arch supported on two short columns. The difference from the ordinary dress of women * proves that the goddess is here meant. The spaces between the columns and the edges of

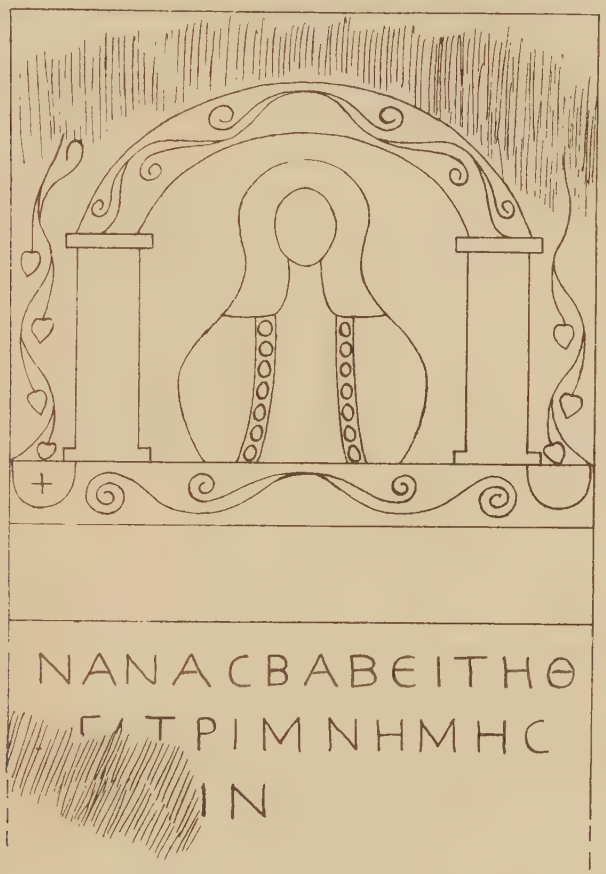



Fig. 52.

the stone are filled with sprays of leaves. Beneath is an oblong horizontal panel, which, like the arch, is decorated with a pattern in curved lines. A little cross in the left-hand corner is the only sign

* This dress is shown best in the drawings of tombstones published by Prof. Ramsay in *Jahreshefte d. K. K. Oesterr. A. Instituts*, 1905 (Beiblatt), pp. 93, 95, 98.

that the stone is Christian: the symbol is evidently intended to be inconspicuous, and to catch the attention only of such as looked for it. This shows that the grave belongs to the period when Christianity was still proscribed and a cause of danger to its confessors,

Fig. 53.

and the date may be confidently stated as about A.D. 250–300. Nanas purchased a ready-made tombstone of the ordinary type, careless of the religious meaning, had the epitaph engraved on it, and inserted a small cross amid the tracery as a witness to her faith.

53. Sinanli (R. 1905). *Ἀντιγονία καὶ Φωτίων Εὐτυχιανῇ μητρὶ γλυκυτάτῃ μνήμης ἕνεκεν.* The stone was in an inner stable (which was perfectly dark and very filthy), and was hurriedly copied by the light of chips of pinewood, lighted one after another and held close to the stone.

The ornament differs slightly from that on the other door-

Fig. 54.

stones. The nearest parallel to the shape of the columns is in Fig. 6 F. Between them is a rude representation of a female figure, on either side of which are growing plants (doubtless intended as vines). In the left-hand upper panel of the door is a knocker in the shape of a hanging ring ; on the ornament in the opposite panel, see No. 47. The doves in the lower panels may be taken as indicating that the stone is Christian : the vines above may also be regarded as a Chris-

tian symbolical ornament, as in the tomb of Bishop Theophilus (No. 7).

54. Sinanli (R. 1905). *Ὀλυμπικὸς Μείρῳ τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρὶ μνήμης χάριν.*

The pediment is occupied by the lion of the Meter Zizimene ;

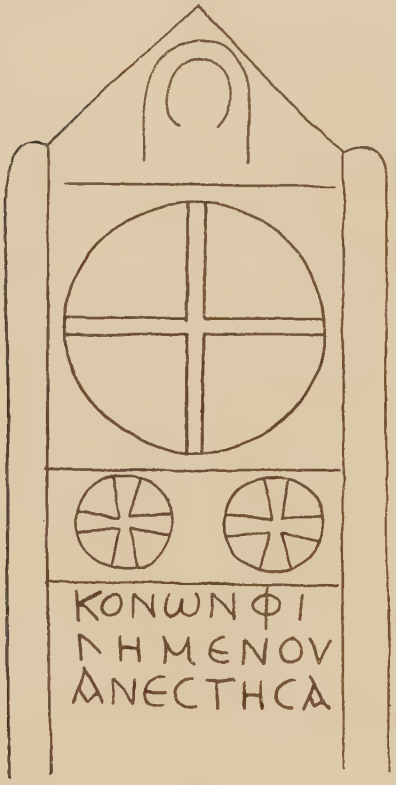



Fig. 55.

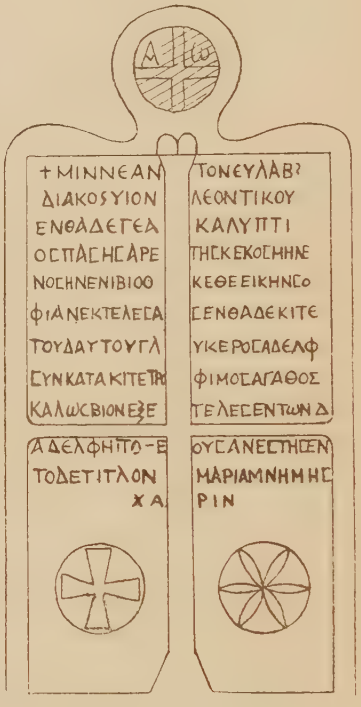



Fig. 56.

the decoration along its upper edges does not seem to have any symbolical meaning, but to be purely ornamental, and may be compared with a somewhat similar ornament on No. 46. On one panel of the door is a knocker very like those already noticed on several monuments. As to the object in the other panel, see on No. 47.

55. Yaila of Agha-Beyli (R. 1906). Κόνων Φιλημένου ἀνέστησα.

This stele is a good example of the types of the goddess and the door-stone in a very much reduced form. The stone is divided by horizontal lines into four parts ; in the uppermost of these, which is still pointed at the top and represents the pediment in the more complete type, is a very rude representation of the head of the goddess. In the next division is a large cross within a circle, a survival of the divisions between the panels of the door-stone, the original significance of which has been entirely lost. Below this again are two smaller circles, each containing a cross, and in the lowest division is the inscription. The stone is evidently Christian ; and the presence of the head of the Meter Zizimene can only be explained as the survival of a Pagan type, whose real meaning has been forgotten.

56. Serai-Inn, in a mosque (R. 1905).

Μιννέαν τὸν εὐλαβ(έστατον) διάκο(νον) υἱὸν Λεοντικοῦ ἐνθάδε
γέα καλύπτι,
ὃς πάσης ἀρετῆς κεκοσμη[μ]ένος ἦν ἔνι βίῳ
κὲ θεικὴν σοφίαν ἐκτελέσας ἐνθάδε κῖτε.
τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ γλυκερὸς ἀδελφ[ὸς] συνκατάκιτε,
Τρόφιμος ἀγαθὸς καλῶς βίον ἐξετέλεσεν.
τῶν δ' ἀδελφὴ πο[θ]έουσ' ἀνέστησεν τόδε τίτλον
Μαρία μνήμης χάριν

The same type, again very much reduced. The panels of the door are kept as in the original scheme, but they are reduced in form to a simple cross, and were doubtless regarded as a cross. In some cases the side lines and all ornaments disappeared ; and the stone showed only a large cross and an inscription arranged as here. In the upper part of this stele the customary form, seen in Nos. 35, 36, 39, 40, is modified into a rude resemblance to the human figure.

Above the inscription is a circle containing a cross between the letters A and ω ; beneath it, in the two lower panels, another cross

of a shape resembling the Maltese, and the six-leaved rosette, each within a circle. The cross and the rosette here correspond to one another, and it seems not open to doubt that the latter was felt to be a Christian symbol as much as the former. The little cross with which the inscription begins is common on Christian monuments of the fourth century or later.

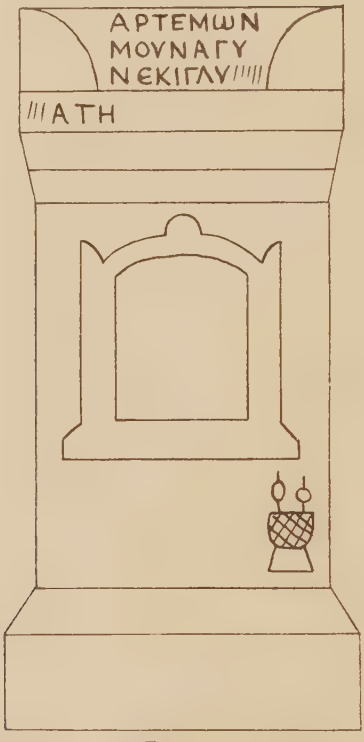



Fig. 57.

The inscription itself is curious. The carver has evidently imitated older metrical formulæ and inserted, without regard to metrical considerations, the names and appropriate epithets of the deceased persons. In 3 and 5, the aorist of τελέω is used as if it were spelt with σσ.

57. Kolu-Kissa (R. 1906). Ἀρτέμων Μούνᾳ γυνεκὶ γλυ[κυτ]άτῃ.

An interesting variation of the ordinary type of door-stone. Instead of the large door with its four panels, a small doorway, with door-posts, threshold, and lintel crowned with an akroterion, is carved in the centre of the stone. With this may be compared a monument published by Prof. Ramsay, *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, ii., p. 380, where the door is not actually represented at all, but the word ΘΥΡΑ is written across the middle of the stele.

58. Suwarek (R. 1905). Copied also by T. Callander in 1904.

Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρ[ος δις?
ἐλπίσας ἐπ[ὶ τῆς ἔπει-
τα ζόης χαρᾶ[ς τε ζῶν κ-
αὶ φρονῶν κ[ατεσκεύασεν
αὐτῷ κοιμητή[ριον τοῦτο
μνήμης χάρ[ιν.

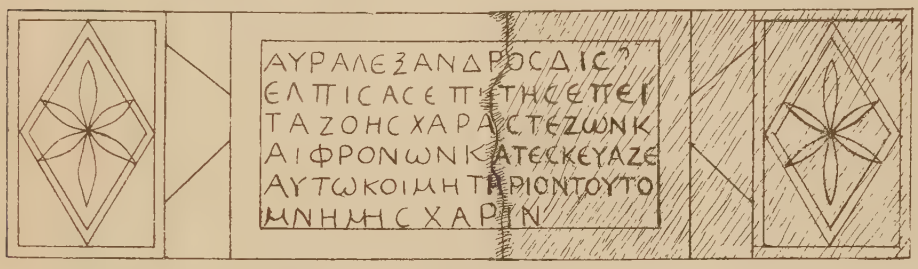



Fig. 58.

The restoration of this really important and remarkable epitaph may be regarded as practically certain, as made by Prof. Ramsay in the *Expositor*, February, 1906. He has restored, *exempli gratia*, the name of Alexander's father as Alexander ; but any short name would be equally suitable.

This and the following (No. 59) are like one another in style, but differ from the rest. They are examples of the only kind of gravestones in this district in which there appears any attempt to devise new artistic forms and new style of decoration. The ornament is very simple in both. The inscription is placed in a panel, on either side of which is the six-leaved rosette framed in a border of straight lines. That of No. 58, evidently Christian, is the most clearly expressed example of the hope in a future life on a Christian

memorial stone of this district. The rosette in both is probably an early example of the use of this modification of the Christian monogram of IX (see on No. 7). The form of the inscription in both, where the name of the person who erects the tomb is placed at the beginning, is early, and the tomb is not likely to have been made later than the middle of the fourth century, and may be earlier ; though the symbolic letters at the top are not of the earliest class of Christian devices.

The right-hand part of this stone was broken off and has been restored from the remaining portion.

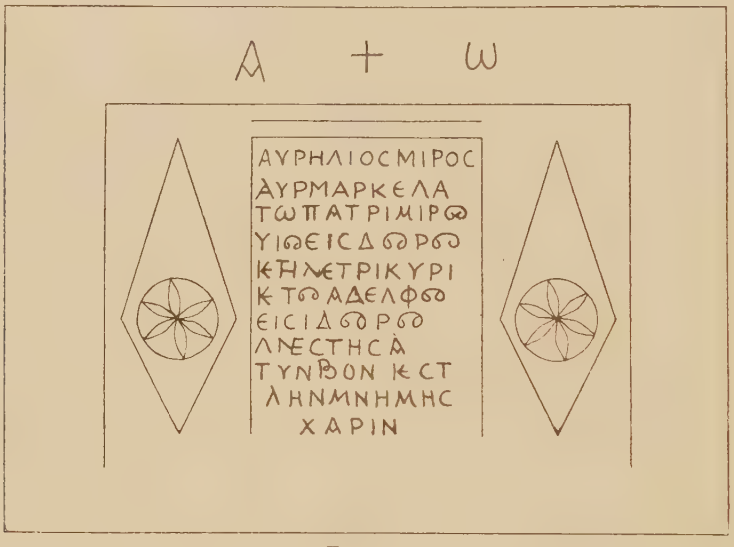



Fig. 59.

59. Eurek-Yaîla (R. 1905). Αὐρήλιος Μῖρος Ἀὐρ. Μαρκέλα τῷ πατρὶ Μίρῳ υἱῳ Εἰσιδώρῳ κὲ τῇ μ[η]τρὶ Κυρί[λῃ] κὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Εἰσιδωρῳ ἀνέστησα τύνβον κὲ στήλην μνήμης χάριν.

That the stone is Christian is proved by the cross above, between the letters A and ω. The meaning is uncertain, probably Miros with Marcella (his wife) made the monument for his father Mirus (and) his son Isidorus, etc., but some words have been omitted.

60. Suwarek (R. 1905).

A piece of ornament exemplifying the fact that all attempts to devise new forms of ornament in this district were Christian. It is on a stone which evidently formed the top of a doorway.

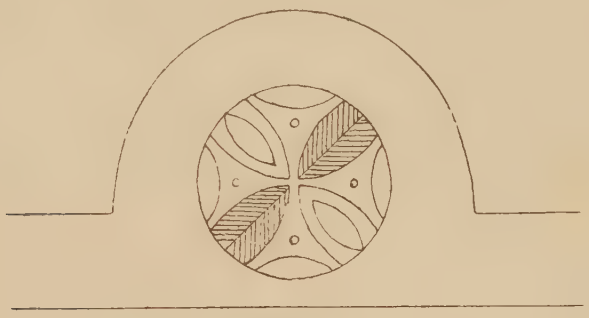


FIG. 60.

## SUMMARY.

The conclusions which seem to have been reached in this paper are :—

1. The mountain land of Northern Isauria, accessible only with difficulty from the west and showing little trace of Græco-Roman influence, was the place of origin of a new kind of decorative art, which spread widely over the Roman world.

2. This art can be traced in a simpler form in the third century and in a more elaborate form in the fourth century after Christ.

3. It is mainly Christian in its origin, springing up through the vigour and initiative imparted by the adoption of new thoughts and manners.

4. No trace of the Isaurian scheme of ornament has been found in North Lycaonia or Phrygia or anywhere on the land-road to Rome.

5. The Isaurian ornament is traced along the road to the provincial capital Tarsus.

6. This Oriental Province, called the Three Eparchies, Cilicia-Lycaonia-(south)-Isauria, was following its own independent line of development during the third century.

7. From Tarsus the Isaurian scheme made its way to Rome; and this must have been by the sea-road.

8. In North Lycaonia little trace of new artistic forms can be detected; but such as are found are entirely Christian in character.

9. In Isauria the artistic impulse is attested by the artists' custom of signing their works.* This habit is hardly known in any other part of Central Anatolia.

*Appendix.*—As the epitaph of Zenobius is much above the level of village work at that time, the following attempt to express it in rhythm may be permitted :—

Fairest was Hylas among all heroes of ancient story,
Fair as the deathless gods, young Hylas who died in the fountain ;
So, 'mid his peers who dwelt in the well-walled land of Isaura,
Shone like the radiant sun the boy Zenobius fairest ;
Dear unto all was he, to his townsfolk alike and to strangers,
And dear to the gentle maidens who loved him admiring his beauty.
Envy, alas, the accursed, unpitying suddenly laid him
Low, in the pride of his youth, and withered the branch yet in blossom;
Therefore did Herakleis his mother, along with her children,
Raise for her darling a beautiful tomb ; for greatly she loved him.
Envy, away ! go hide thy head ! ah, would the immortals
Utterly might destroy thee thyself, for the ill thou hast wrought us.

* *Examples:* in this volume, p. 169; *J.H.S.*, 1904, p. 279; 1905, p. 175; Sterrett, *Wolfe Exp.*, pp. 23, 41, 49 (*cf. Hist. Geogr.*, p. 382); *B.C.H.*, 1886, p. 511; etc. In several cases the artists mention their Isaurian home, Astra, Lystra, Paporinda, Porinda.

II.

# SMYRNA AS DESCRIBED BY THE ORATOR AELIUS ARISTIDES.

W. M. CALDER.

# SMYRNA AS DESCRIBED BY THE ORATOR AELIUS ARISTIDES.

(Map, p. 115.)

THE city of Smyrna lies on the southern shore of the Gulf of Smyrna, at its eastern end. The modern city slopes down from Mount Pagus, and extends, with its suburbs, beyond the hill called Deirmen-tépé * on the west, and close to the Caravan Bridge River on the

* The name "Corypheum" which some have applied to this hill appears to be derived from a passage in Pausanias (535)—*ἐποήθη δὲ καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ Σμυρναίοις ἱερὸν μεταξὺ κορυφῆς τε ὄρους καὶ θαλάσσης ἀμιγοῦς ὕδατι ἀλλοίῳ*. The temple referred to was a temple of Asklepios to which further reference is made in Pausanias, 172—*ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Περγαμηνῶν Σμυρναίοις γέγονεν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀσκληπιεῖον τὸ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ*. It has been usual to take the word *κορυφή* in the former of these passages as a proper name, and "Mount Coryphé" has been identified with Deirmen-tépé. The temple has accordingly been placed "between Mount Coryphé and the sea at a point where it is free from admixture with water from elsewhere," *i.e.*, on the northern slope of Deirmen-tépé, between it and the sea.

Two difficulties arise on this view. (1) *ὄρος* at Smyrna could surely mean the Pagus only; and (2) the Greek words *θαλάσσης ἀμιγοῦς ὕδατι ἀλλοίῳ* can scarcely bear the translation given above. Such an expression is inapplicable to the sea at any point round the eastern part of the Gulf of Smyrna. The force of the adjective must rather be "that will not mix," and *θάλασσα* must be "a salt spring". The expression would then mean "a salt spring whose water will not mix with other water". A temple of Asklepios might well be built beside such a spring. On this view, the words *κορυφὴ ὄρους* will mean "the summit of Pagus" and the form "Corypheum" will rank with "Grampian". It is no proof of the falsity of this hypothesis that no salt spring is now known at Smyrna; it may have disappeared (as the Fountain of Juturna in the Roman Forum disappeared and its site was unknown until the recent excavations), or it may still exist, and be incorporated in one of the drains. Of course, the ultimate test is excavation, and discovery of the temple. If *Κορυφή* is a proper name, it must mean Deirmen-tépé.

east, occupying all the intermediate space close up to the sea-shore. The natural features of the site are well marked, and have not changed since the early centuries of our era. Then, as now, the city mantled round the two hills on the west and south, and nestled in the slope between them and the sea-shore. Then, as now, the city gave the impression of a beautiful and harmonious divine figure, whose feet rested on the strand and whose body rose by harmonious gradations until it culminated in the wall-crowned Pagus. The city, said Aristides, extended above the sea, and the bloom of its beauty shone throughout its whole length ; it was not like a town built bit by bit, but looked as if it had sprung of a sudden into being, so full and uniform was it in all its parts. The sea seemed to creep yearningly up and seek to embrace the city. Speaking of Smyrna after it had been destroyed by the earthquake of A.D. 180, Aristides uses the expression "O ye havens that miss the embrace of your beloved city".* After the city had been restored, he says "and the havens again enjoy the city's embrace".† The attitude is that represented in the group Gaia and Thalatta in the pediment of the Athenian Parthenon ; a coin-type of Smyrna shows Dionysos and Semele in the same attitude. The stiff high knees of Semele are intended to give the idea of a high steep hill rising above the temple of Dionysos. (Fig. p. 97.)

The imagery is elsewhere varied, and the sea is said to float beneath the city like a pedestal‡ on which the feet of the city rest. § A bright sheen swims over all, and attunes the whole city into har-

* xviii., 6 (Keil) : ὦ λιμένες ποθοῦντες τὰς τῆς φιλτάτης πόλεως ἀγκαλάς.

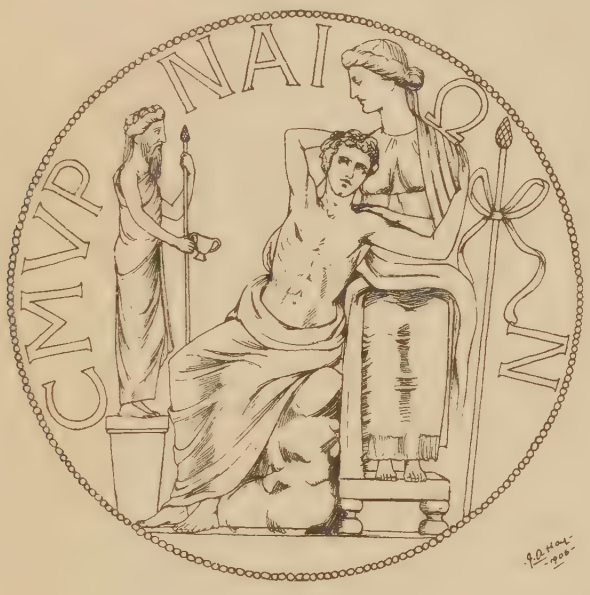
† xxi., 21 : καὶ δὴ λιμένες τε κομίζονται τὰς τῆς φιλτάτης πόλεως ἀγκαλὰς. In xxi., 5, Aristides speaks of λιμένας τῇ μὲν κυκλουμένους τὴν πόλιν, τῇ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως μέσους ἐχομένους. The form of expression used here would no doubt suggest to the Smyrnaeans their λιμὴν κλειστός (Strabo, 646), which could be said figuratively to lie in the city's arms.

‡ xvii., 19 : ἡ δὲ θάλαττα παρατείνει καθάπερ βάσις.

§ xviii., 3 : πόδες μὲν ἐπ' ἠϊόνων καὶ λιμένων καὶ ἀλσῶν ἐρειδόμενοι. *Cf.* Menander Rhetor (Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. iii., 351, 23), ὥσπερ ποσὶν ἐπιστηρίζεσθαι τῷ λιμένι.

mony with itself and the beautiful country around.* The "beauty of Smyrna" was a commonplace in ancient Ionia,† and Smyrna, as seen from the bay in front, is still one of the loveliest sights in the Levant.

The modern city stops west of the Caravan Bridge River. This stream is a mountain torrent rising near Sedikeui, about twenty miles south of Smyrna. It drains a long upland valley, and is fed by several hill-torrents on both banks. In the rainy season this river is subject to violent spates; in dry weather it flows with a tiny




stream, or is dry. Its course lies round the eastern side of Pagus, and then towards the sea, in a north-easterly direction. It meets the sea in an estuary a few hundred yards long. Of this river

* xvii., 9.

† Aristides, *passim*. *Cf.* Lucian, xxxix., 2. *Corp. Inscr. Gr.*, 3202. Philostratus, *Apoll. Tyan.*, bk. iv., ch. 7. Strabo, 646. Prof. Ramsay has discussed this subject in his *Letters to the Seven Churches*, pp. 254 ff., where he explains in detail the comparison to a sitting statue of the Smyrnaean goddess (see p. 103).

Prof. Ramsay writes: "I went to see the lower course of the Caravan Bridge Water on the 30th April, after a wet cold spring, when the rains had just recently ceased. Half a mile above the mouth there was a tiny streamlet trickling in the deepest part of the bed. Near the mouth there was plenty of water, a considerable deep pool extending two hundred yards or more up from the mouth. But this was not really the river water. Sticks thrown into it drifted up-stream away from the sea under the impulsion of a very gentle morning breeze which was blowing straight up the stream. You could not say that the river 'meets the sea'; a tiny stream trickles to the mouth of the river. On the other hand, as this river drains the whole of a considerable upland valley, and the slopes of an extent of mountains, it carries a big torrent after heavy rains, a roaring turbid mass of water. It has numerous sources and heads, some as far away as twelve miles south, and there are many small springs in the hills, I am told, which feed it. The water is now drawn off to help the water-supply of the city, but in ancient times there can be little doubt that this was done to some extent." *

A few hundred yards to the east of the Caravan Bridge River another body of water enters the Gulf of Smyrna. Some thirteen hundred yards south of the gulf, there rises a splendid and copious fountain called the Baths of Diana, and the overflow from this fountain is conducted in an artificial canal to the sea. The canal in its present form is of modern construction. The ancient cutting was allowed to become silted up, and the water overflowed and converted the plain around into a marsh. Modern engineering has again done for the place what ancient engineering had done before the time when Aristides lived.

This canal is the famous Meles, the traditional birthplace of

* Weber in a paper entitled "Wasserleitungen von Smyrna" in the *Jahrbuch des archäologischen Instituts*, vol. xiv., p. 215, shows that an aqueduct led water from Akbunar, south of one source of the Caravan Bridge River, down the valley of that river. Doubtless the water of the Caravan Bridge River was also utilised.

Homer, whence he derived his name "Melesigenes". It carries a very considerable body of water to the sea. As it is fed exclusively by the fountain of Chalka-Bunar, or Diana's Bath, it never varies in volume like the Caravan Bridge River, which rises or falls after each season of rain or drought. Its temperature likewise varies little in summer and winter. In its very short course, there is no time for either hot or cold weather to have much effect upon it. Rising as it does straight out of the earth, it was regarded by the ancients as a gift of the gods to men and was supposed to possess healing properties. Aristides describes a bath which the god Asklepios bade him take in the Meles in mid-winter when he found the water mild and warm.* The water flows with a strong steady current, and its meeting with the sea is markedly in contrast with that of the Caravan Bridge River. Of this meeting, Prof. Ramsay writes: "Diana's water flows with a steady, strong, deep, perfectly calm, noiseless stream: not a ripple on the surface. Sticks or other light objects floated rapidly and evenly down and out to sea, in spite of the very gentle breeze blowing nearly up the water. The meeting of sea and river was well marked: the two waters were clearly distinguished by the character of the waves, and the ripple caused by the meeting was very distinct.† Standing on the bridge and looking down at this water, it is so still that it seems motionless until some stick moves down with a rapid course." This is the only stream (except the river Hermus) which "meets the sea" at its mouth with a full current.

The total length of this stream is thirteen hundred yards. Its whole course can be taken in at a glance.

Each of the two streams has thus a strongly marked individual character, distinct from the other. There are other streams in the

*xlviii., 21: *ὥσπερ ἐν κολυμβήθρᾳ καὶ μάλα ἠπίου καὶ κεκραμένου ὕδατος ἐχρώμην διατριβῇ.*

†*Cf.* Aristides, xvii., 14. Philostratus, *εἰκόνες*, 413. *κῦμα αἴρων . . . λεπτὴ αὖρα κῦμα ὑποδραμοῦσα ἐργάζεται αὐτὸ κυρτὸν καὶ περιεχὲς καὶ ἀνθηρὸν ἔτι, ἡ γὰρ ἀνταυγεία τοῦ ἡλίου χρῶμα προσβάλλει μετεώρῳ τῷ ὕδατι.*

plain of Smyrna, entering the gulf on its eastern side. At the south-eastern corner the gulf is joined by a long torrent rising beyond Kabaklī-deré, similar in character to the Caravan Bridge River. Two other mountain torrents flow through the plain, the streams of Bournabat and Hadji Moutzo.

A little to the east of the point where Diana's water joins it, the shore-line bends northwards at a right angle, and follows this direction for about two miles, when it bends westward, again at a right angle. The outline of the coast here has undergone little or no modification since the early centuries of our era. This does not apply to the northern side of the gulf, where the river Hermus has encroached on the sea to a great extent. This river brings down large quantities of mud, which threatened so effectually to bar the entrance to the harbour of Smyrna, that a new channel was cut a few years ago, diverting the Hermus into an ancient bed of its own, and leading it into the Gulf of Smyrna at a point further west. Nor does it apply to the shore-line before the town of Smyrna itself. At this point the accumulation of rubbish which has always been a feature of the streets of Smyrna from Strabo's * time to our own has gradually pushed the shore out considerably beyond the ancient line. Strabo speaks of a "land-locked harbour" † as being one of the features of the Smyrna of his time. This harbour was in use until A.D. 1402, when its entrance was blocked by Tamerlane, during his siege of the Rhodian knights. It was never attended to after this, and finally became choked up. Pococke ‡ says that small boats could enter the harbour in 1745; Chandler, § who visited the city before 1775, tells us that even then the harbour was sufficiently well-marked to become filled with water in heavy rains. The site of this harbour is now in the middle of the city; it has been

* Strabo, 646: *ἓν δὲ ἐλάττωμα τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων οὐ μικρόν, ὅτι τὰς ὁδοὺς στορνύντες ὑπορρύσεις οὐκ ἔδωκαν αὐταῖς ἀλλ' ἐπιπολάζει τὰ σκύβαλα καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ὄμβροις ἐπαφιεμένων τῶν ἀποσκευῶν.*

† Strabo, *ibid.*: λιμὴν κλειστός.

‡ *Travels in the East*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 35. § *Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 63.

built over, and all trace of it has disappeared. As it must originally have been quite close to the sea, it is evident that the shore-line has projected in front of the town. But on the eastern shore of the gulf, and at its south-eastern corner, there has been little change. The steady breeze which blows up the gulf almost every afternoon, sets up a surface current which causes a bottom current in the reverse direction; and this has just sufficed to carry off the slight accumulation of silt carried down by the rivers entering the gulf on its eastern side, and at its south-eastern corner. The ground at the south-eastern corner of the gulf is very marshy; as has been said, the ancient cutting leading the water from the Baths of Diana to the sea was allowed to get into disrepair, and the water spread over the adjoining country. A road was made over this marsh forty or fifty years ago. This road crosses Diana's water near its mouth and then traverses the worst part of the marsh. When the road was projected, it was feared that the marsh would be a serious difficulty, but the engineer found that his natural line, close to the coast, towards Bournabat, led along an ancient causeway, obviously that of the ancient Roman and pre-Roman road. The line of the road to Bournabat is also marked by Roman milestone five, close to the modern line, a quarter of an hour before reaching Bournabat.* Remains show that Bournabat was a large town of villas and country mansions, just as it is to-day.

Aristides describes a walk along this very road. After a description of the Meles, a cutting from the "Springs of the Nymphs" to the sea, flowing past the very doors of the city, he goes on to

* Prof. Ramsay copied this milestone in 1901. It was inscribed on a small column, beside the road from Mersinli to Bournabat. It was standing in its original position, he considered, a few hundred yards from the station in Bournabat.

τοῖς ἐπι]φανεσ[τά-
τ]οις Καίσα[ρ]σιν
ἀπὸ Σμύρνης
M(ίλια) E.

This is a milestone of Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and Constantine and Galerius Cæsars: the top of the stone is broken off.

say: * "and when you have crossed the Meles you are met by a tract of country which Poseidon, I imagine, presented to the city, like to and yet different from his reported gift in Thessaly. For there he cleft the mountains asunder, and turned Thessaly from a lake into a stretch of plain, sending the Peneus out through a cleft; but here he withdrew the sea from the mountains, giving the city a fitting adornment on the land-side to correspond with that of the sea. Still, he did not leave the plain a miry marsh, nor did he bake it all hard, but the spade discloses signs of its ancient character, even if this was not proved by a glance at the surrounding country, on which the sea formerly rested. As you travel through this reclaimed plain, you find it full of springs of water and sweet fertility from end to end. A little further on the city, which seems to escort the traveller on his way, again bursts on the view. It is now at a shorter distance, and its fair features can be counted and measured off. No man is in such haste as to keep his eyes fixed on the road in front, and not change his position, placing what was before him on his right hand, and what was on his left, before his eyes."

The course of this walk is clear and unmistakable. The traveller leaves the city, crossing the bridge † over the Meles, and following for a short distance the above-mentioned road to Bournabat. Where this road forks, he keeps to the left, and follows the shoreline through the fertile plain of Smyrna first northwards and then westwards: as he turns westward, he again comes into full view of Smyrna, for, though his course lies westwards, he cannot resist the impulse to turn his head slightly to the left, and feast his eyes on the beauty of the city, which "masters him by willing constraint, as the magnet does the iron-filings". Travellers in all ages have been struck with the beauty of Smyrna as seen from anywhere near

* xvii., 16, 17: It was by this road, too, that Aristides travelled to Pergamus (li. 2).

† Aristides' reference in xlviii., 20, καὶ πάντ' ἦν κάτοπτα ἀπὸ τῆς γεφύρας, is doubtless to this bridge.

this point. It is from this point that its resemblance to a sitting statue is most clearly marked.* See p. 97 n.

The Smyrna of the Roman period must have extended considerably further eastward than the modern city. Strabo, Pausanias, Aristides, Philostratus and Himerius are our most important authorities for the topography of the Smyrna of the early centuries of our era. These writers knew the city as it stood in the first four centuries. Smyrna had passed through many vicissitudes. It had originally been situated on a hill on the northern side of the gulf, but this foundation had been destroyed by King Alyattes about the year B.C. 600. Alexander the Great formed a design to refound the city on the southern shore of the gulf: it was put into execution in the third century B.C. by Antigonus and Lysimachus. The walls of Lysimachus encircled a city lying between the hills Pagus and Deirmen-tépé and the sea. Their circuit has been traced, and the remains show that the wall descended the eastern side of Pagus, and then extended north by the site of the modern station of the Smyrna-Philadelphia Railway. Such were the limits set to the city by the walls of Lysimachus; but a place which formed the outlet of one of the great trade-routes of Asia Minor was destined soon to burst those narrow bounds, and, by the time of Strabo, the foundation of Lysimachus formed only a part of Smyrna. He speaks of the Smyrna of even his day, about the beginning of our era, as "having a fortified part on the hill, but its greater part in the plain beside the harbour and the temple of the Mother-Goddess and the Gymnasium".† The city now extended over the plain adjoining the Pagus, first up to the Caravan Bridge River, and later across it, on the ground between it and the Baths of Diana. Numerous remains of ancient

* This walk coincides with the first part of the journey which Aristides describes in his *Hieroi Logoi*, Book v., at the beginning, and which is fully discussed by Prof. Ramsay in *J.H.S.*, 1881, pp. 44 ff.

† Strabo, 646: *μέρος μέν τι ἔχουσα ἐπ' ὄρει τετειχισμένον, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἐν πεδίῳ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι καὶ πρὸς τῷ μητρῴῳ καὶ πρὸς γυμνασίῳ.*

buildings have been found in modern times on the ground around the hill Tepejik, between the Caravan Bridge River and the canal which joins Diana's Baths with the sea. These remains belong to the centuries immediately before, and immediately after our era and if we are to understand certain statements in our authors, it will appear that the city of which they are thinking included a large and populous part to the east of the Caravan Bridge River, and extending close up to Diana's Water.*

Aristides, in praising the beauties of Smyrna, mentions as one of them a magnificent street which leads you, as you walk from west to east, "from a temple to a temple, and from a hill to a hill".† The only satisfactory identification of this street is that which makes it lead from the temple of Zeus Akraios,‡ to the temple of the Mother-Goddess Sipylene, the *μητρῷον* mentioned by Strabo. The former has been identified by M. Fontrier, the best authority on the topography of Smyrna, with certain remains on the western slope of Pagus: the latter is generally believed to have been situated on Tepejik. Aristides seems to imply that it lay somewhere near Tepejik when he says § "as you descend from the Acropolis you next enter the eastern district (*τὰ ἑῷα ἐκδέχεται*), and next you see that fairest of temples, the temple of the goddess whose the city is. Indeed, all the space from this point to the shore is resplendent with gymnasia, squares, theatres, sacred precincts, harbours, man and nature vying with each other in the creation of beauty, and there is no spot that is not turned to account for ornament or for use." The words *τὰ ἑῷα* are literally correct if we place the *μητρῷον* on

* *Cf.* Aristides, xx., 21 : When the city has been restored after its devastation by the earthquake, he says, *καὶ τῷ Μέλητι οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν τὸ μὴ τοὺς προσοίκους ἔχειν.*

† xvii., 10 : *ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας μὲν πρὸς ἕω βαδίζων ἐκ νεώ τε εἰς νεὼν ἥξεις καὶ ἐκ κολωνοῦ πρὸς κολωνὸν δι' ἑνὸς στενωποῦ καλλίονος ἢ κατὰ τοὔνομα.* The street was called the "Golden Street".

‡ See Prof. Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, pp. 260, 443.

§ xvii., 10, 11.

Tepejik, which lies nearly due east of the Pagus. The goddess was πρὸ πόλεως (as is stated in an inscription), and this term must mean the east side of the city. And further, the words which follow prove that the ground between Tepejik and the sea was covered with important buildings in the age of Aristides as in the age of Strabo.

An ancient city-wall, once built, was not necessarily fixed in its original site for ever ; at Ephesus, and elsewhere, we find the position of the city-wall changed to suit changed conditions. And although there is no *à priori* certainty that a large and valuable suburb adjoining a city in the peaceful time of the Roman imperial régime should have been walled ; though, further, no traces of such a wall round the eastern suburb of Smyrna have so far been found, we yet have sure indications in Aristides, that in his day, firstly, the walls of Lysimachus had been extended, and secondly, the city-wall extended to the east of the Caravan Bridge River, which flowed through the city.

In one passage * Aristides refers to the death of a Roman general near Smyrna, and his burial "within the present gates". This event took place during the Mithradatic Wars, a date which places it between Lysimachus and Strabo, in whose time the walls of Lysimachus may still have been the sole defence works at Smyrna.† The Roman general, according to ancient custom,‡ was buried outside the walls of the city, doubtless by the side of the road leading to Tepejik, alongside which many ancient tombs have been found. But his grave, Aristides says, lies "within *the present* gates". The only possible inference is that the wall was extended sometime between the burial of the Roman general and the date of Aristides' letter, possibly after the date at which Strabo visited Smyrna. The exten-

* xix., 11 : εἴσω τῶν νῦν πυλῶν.

† But see pp. 114, 116.

‡ Compare Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, iv., 12, where Servius Sulpicius tells Cicero of the death and burial of M. Marcellus. "Ab Atheniensibus, locum sepulturae intra urbem ut darent, impetrare non potui, quod religione se impediri dicerent ; neque tamen id antea cuiquam concesserant."

sion of the city-wall to include the grave in question enabled Aristides to credit the city with having done the general a greater honour than had really been done him ; the significance of the word *νῦν* in *εἴσω τῶν νῦν πυλῶν*, may have escaped the readers of the letter, just as it seems to have escaped all those who have written on the topography of Smyrna in modern times. And if the general of whom we speak, as is reasonable to suppose, was buried in one of the numerous graves turned up by the spade between the Caravan Bridge River and Tepejik, round which a large suburb of Smyrna was built, it is established beyond a doubt that the wall which included his grave within its circuit extended eastwards to near the Baths of Diana.

Aristides in another passage mentions two * rivers at Smyrna, one "flowing through the city," the other "in front of the city". With reference to the first his words are : † "I must do as follows : First mount the carriage and go to the river which flows through the city, and when I have come to the point where it is just outside the city, I must offer trench-sacrifice". Speaking of the second, his words are : ‡ "And at the same time he bade me go down to the river in front of the city and bathe. . . . It was midwinter with a tempestuous north wind and frost, and the pebbles were so fast bound

* The third river, to which he refers in xlviii., 50 (*ἔδει δὲ πορευθέντα πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς τὰς θερμὰς τῷ μὲν θερμῷ ὕδατι μὴ χρῆσθαι, τῷ δὲ παραρρέοντι ποταμῷ*), was a stream near the *θερμαὶ Ἀγαμεμνόνειοι* some miles to the west of Smyrna. *Cf.* Philostratus, *Heroicus*, 300 : *καὶ λουτρὰ τοῖς τετρωμένοις μαντευτὰ ἐγένετο, πηγαὶ θερμαὶ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ, ἃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἀγαμεμνονείους καλοῦσιν οἱ Σμύρναν οἰκοῦντες. ἀπέχουσι δέ, οἶμαι, τετταράκοντα σταδία τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ ἀνῆπτό ποτε αὐτοῖς αἰχμάλωτα κράνη Μύσια.* See also Strabo, 645.

† xlviii., 27 : *ἀλλὰ δεῖν οὕτω ποιεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ τὸ ζεῦγος ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν διὰ τῆς πόλεως ῥέοντα, γενόμενον δὲ οὗ ἐστιν ἤδη ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἱερὰ δρᾶσαι ἐπιβόθρια.*

‡ xlviii., 18, 19, 20, 21 : *καὶ ἅμα κελεύει καταβάντα εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ῥέοντα λούσασθαι . . . ἦν δὲ καὶ μέσος χειμὼν καὶ βορέας μέλας καὶ κρυμός, καὶ αἱ ψηφῖδες οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ πάγου πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐδέδεντο ὥστε ἐοικέναι κρυστάλλῳ συνεχεῖ, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οἷον εἰκὸς ἐν τοιούτῳ ἀέρι . . . ἔπειθ' ὥσπερ ἐν κολυμβήθρᾳ καὶ μάλα ἠπίου καὶ κεκραμένου ὕδατος ἐχρώμην διατριβῇ.*

with the frost that they resembled a continuous sheet of ice, and the rain was as cold as usual in such a temperature . . . and I bathed in water as mild and warm as a swimming-bath."

The former of these passages is interesting as being the only reference in Aristides to the Caravan Bridge River. Obviously, no river "flowed through the city" if by the "city" we are to understand that part of it enclosed by the walls of Lysimachus. And the Caravan Bridge River is the only stream that can have flowed through the extended city, as a glance at the map (p. 115) will show. It is further evident that the river in question passed through the extended city-wall referred to in the other passage we have quoted; for the walls of Lysimachus reached quite close to the Caravan Bridge River, and any extension of them must have carried them across it. "The point where the river is just outside the city" could be either the point immediately south of where it entered the city, or, supposing that it passed through the city-wall again before reaching the sea, the point immediately north of where it issued through the wall. The former is the more likely; the water here would be clean and could be used for the sacrifice which Aristides was commanded to perform.

These indications make it much more than probable that a wall, perhaps only a rough defence work, stretched from the eastern ridge of Pagus across to Tepejik, and thence to the north near the course of the canal. It may be that Dio Chrysostom was referring to this extension of the city-wall at Smyrna when he said to the men of Prusa:* "A man must shape his shoe to suit his foot, and if he find it too large, cut it down. But a city must never be docked or stunted to one's individual standard or measured with reference to one's own soul, if that soul be puny and mean. You have examples of this principle in the cases of *Smyrna*, Ephesus, Tarsus, Antioch."

It has been necessary to lay stress on the existence of this large

* xl., 11.

and populous walled suburb in the time of Aristides, in order to clear away a difficulty with regard to the identification of the ancient Meles. Strange as it may appear, modern Smyrniots cling to its identification with the Caravan Bridge River, as a point of local patriotism, in spite of the most convincing proofs that the Meles of ancient Smyrna was the water from the Baths of Diana.

The ancient Meles, after having been unquestioningly identified with the Caravan Bridge River until a couple of centuries ago, has subsequently been considered identical with no fewer than four distinct streams running into the Gulf of Smyrna on its eastern and south-eastern shores. Besides the popular view that the Caravan Bridge River was the Meles, and the view first advanced by Truon in 1813, and ably supported by Slaars (1868),* applying the name of the Meles to the water from the Baths of Diana, one must record, in order to refute in a sentence, the opinion of Michaud (1830), and of Hamilton (1842), that the Meles of Aristides was the river beside Bournabat, and the alternative suggestion of Hamilton that it might be the stream running through the plain of Smyrna from behind Kabaklī-deré and entering the sea in the very south-eastern corner of the gulf. Aristides speaks † of the sea as "stretching far enough to the east of the Meles to form a bight". A glance at the map will show that this excludes from consideration any river entering the gulf on its eastern side, even if there were a shred of evidence to support the view that the Meles was one of those rivers. On the view of Weber that the Meles of the Homeric poem, beside the Aeolic Smyrna, was the stream beside Bournabat, and that when the city was refounded on the south side of the gulf the name Meles was transferred to a river close at hand, *viz.*, the Caravan Bridge Water, it is not neces-

* See Slaars, *Etude sur Smyrne*, appendix. This view has been maintained by Prof. Ramsay in his *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 115, and *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 263, almost alone among recent scholars.

† xvii., 19: τοσοῦτον τοῦ Μέλητος πρὸς ἕω παραλλάττουσα ὅσον εἰς καμπὴν παρεξελθεῖν.

sary to comment here.* We are concerned only with the Meles known to Strabo, Pausanias, Aristides, Philostratus and Himerius, the Meles of the refounded Smyrna.

The only two rivers whose claims to be identical with the Meles of Aristides merit serious consideration are the Caravan Bridge River and the water from the Baths of Diana. After reading the descriptions of the Meles in Aristides and Himerius and comparing them respectively with the accounts of the Caravan Bridge River and Diana's Water given above, one can be in no doubt as to the correct identification. Indeed, if one were at a loss for words to describe the Water of Diana, one could not do better than borrow the descriptions of Aristides and Himerius. Speaking of the Meles, the former says† "the ornament before our doors, which we call the Meles, and which guards the entrance to the city as Apollo guards the streets, is a cutting from the springs of the nymphs to the sea, giving them a bathing-place of flowing water, and a spot not far from the sea wherein to welcome the daughters of Nereus. The Meles flows alike from grots, from houses, and from under trees; it wells up too in the midst of its own bed, and flows onwards to the sea. At its source it is circle-shaped, and might well be likened to a necklet; the rest of its course is like a canal. At its meeting with the sea, it is almost noiseless; it smooths down the surge, and mingles quietly with the sea-water, forming a bore if the sea is advancing under the impulsion of the wind, but following it if it is ebbing, raising river and sea-

*Weber, *Sipylos*, pp. 103, 104. It is extremely likely that the canal from Diana's Baths was always the Meles. It was within easy distance of the Aeolic Smyrna as well as of the Smyrna of Alexander. And although it was common for Greeks to carry their old place-names with them to their colonies, it is very unlikely that they should have transferred the name of the Meles from one river to another within two miles of it. This would have been to tamper with the sanctity of the stream. In Sir Ch. Wilson's *Handbook to Asia Minor* (Murray) the right view is stated about the Meles, on his own authority: the rest of the account of Smyrna was written by Mr. Weber.

†xvii., 14.

water into a single ridge, so that one could not tell where the meeting takes place."

This passage shows that the Meles was outside of and yet near the city. It flowed in an artificial channel (διωρυχή, εὔριπος) which carried a body of running water from certain "springs" to the sea. The nymphs of the stream, who dwelt about the πηγαί, could receive a visit from the Nereids of the sea, for the distance between was not great (δι' ὀλίγου). The head of the stream was shaped like a necklet (*cf.* the modern Turkish name Chalka-bounar ; Chalka = κύκλος) ; the rest of it resembled a canal. It was noiseless where it joined the sea, gliding quietly into union with it, raising a tidal wave if the wind blew from the north-west, but if the swell was receding, following it. This coincides exactly with Prof. Ramsay's description of the mouth of Diana's Water, quoted above.

Again, Aristides says, * "The praises of the Meles I now leave to others to sing ; indeed, the sight of the river itself is its own greatest praise. For it never varies in summer or winter, and never behaves insolently as the result of spates nor yields to drought, but, like any other of the things that change not, it keeps the same aspect and complexion throughout. Nor is the Meles a wayward stream, or apt to wander away ; it is like a lover of the city, that cannot bear to stray from her side, but cherishes unending love towards her, and keeps unending guard over her ; so that it rises and ends its course in the same small spot, stretching itself, as it were, by the city's side."

This passage shows us that the Meles had an equable temperature in summer and winter, being subject neither to spates nor to drought. It was quite imperturbable in all seasons, maintaining the same appearance throughout. Like a lover of the city it never wandered away from her, but took its rise and joined the sea within a short distance of her. Philostratus † also alludes to the shortness of

* xxi., 14.

† Philostratus, εἰκόνες, 413 : ὁρᾶται τῷ θεατῇ ὅλος, ἐκεῖ ἐκβάλλων ὅθεν ἄρχεται . . . εἰκὸς τοῦ συγχορεύειν τὰς θεὰς ἐπὶ τῷ Μέλητι παρεχομένῳ τὰς πηγὰς οὐ πόρρω τῶν ἐκβολῶν.

the Meles, and its close proximity to the sea in all its length. "The spectator can see it in its whole length, rising, as it does, and joining the sea in the same place . . . it is natural that the goddesses should join to dance beside the Meles, whose springs are close to its estuary." He speaks elsewhere * of "the grove of Smyrna, in which the Meles flows": if this implies, as the form of the expression suggests, that the whole course of the Meles lay within the grove, it is a further disproof of its identity with Caravan Bridge River. Himerius speaks of the banks of the Meles as "blooming with cypress and reed," doubtless belonging to the grove mentioned by Philostratus. There is a further reference to this grove, which proves that it must have lain low in the plain, near the sea-level, and just outside of Smyrna. Aristides, in a passage quoted on p. 96 (note §), speaks of the "feet of the city resting on the strand, on harbours and groves". The grove referred to can only have lain to the east of the city, where it slopes down from the Pagus to the level of the plain. The reference in another passage of Aristides, † where he speaks of the Meles as "rising from under trees," is clearly to the same grove.

Himerius' reference to the Water of Diana is equally clear and indubitable. ‡ "This Meles," he says, "for one may not lightly pass over in silence a stream that has given birth to such a singer, rises in the suburbs of Smyrna, and is born of a multitude of springs rising

* Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, vii., 9, p. 132: διελέγετο . . . περὶ τὸ νέμος τῆς Σμύρνης, ἐν ᾧ ὁ Μέλης.

† xvii., 14.

‡ Himerius, Ecloge xiii., 31 (given as xviii., 31, in the Dübner index): ὁ γὰρ δὴ Μέλης οὗτος, οὐ γὰρ δὴ θέμις σιωπῇ παρελθεῖν γλῶσσαν τοσαύτην γεννήσαντα, ἀνίσχει μὲν ἐν προαστείων (*sic*) τῆς Σμύρνης, τίκτουσι δ' αὐτὸν μυρίαι πηγαὶ καὶ πλησίον ἀλλήλων βλαστανούσαι· ἀφ' ὧν πλημμύρων ὁ ποταμὸς πελαγίζει τε εὐθὺς ἐκ πηγῶν καὶ πλωτὸς καὶ ὁλκάσι καὶ κώπῃ γίνεται· παραμείψας δὲ τὰς ἑκατέρωθεν ὀχθὰς κυπαρίττῳ κομώσας καὶ δόνακι, τῇ πλησίον θαλάττῃ κοινοῦται τὸ ῥεῦμα, εἰ ῥεῦμα θέμις ἐκεῖνο καλεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἠχοῦντος ἀκούσῃ, οὐδὲ δόξειεν ἄν σοι τὸ ὕδωρ φέρεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τις ἐραστὴς παιδικῶν συνουσίαν κλέψαι βουλόμενος, λάθρᾳ τῇ θαλάττῃ κιρνᾶται, λεαίνων τὸ κῦμα τῷ ῥεύματι.

close to each other. The river forms a deep channel immediately after issuing from these fountain-heads, and is navigable by merchant hulks, impelled by oars. And when it has flowed past its banks, which bloom with the cypress and reed, it unites its current with the neighbouring sea, if current it may be called ; for you cannot hear a sound it makes, nor does the water appear to move at all, but like a lover seeking stealthily to join his loved one, it blends furtively with the sea, smoothing down the wave with its flow."

This Meles rises in the very suburbs of Smyrna. It is fed by a large number of springs, rising close together. Just beneath its source, it forms a deep body of water, which can bear big barges, and is wide enough for oars to be used. It moves noiselessly on to the sea, which is close at hand. Pliny too mentions that the source of the Meles was close to the town of Smyrna.*

No real difficulty arises out of a reference to the Meles in Pausanias,† as has been supposed. "The river Meles at Smyrna," he says, "is a very beautiful water, with a cave at its springs, where Homer is said to have composed his poems." There is now no cave at or near Diana's Baths, but there were remains of ancient building there, which doubtless comprised an artificial grot from which the Meles or some of its springs issued.‡ But various caves in the vicinity of Smyrna have led to the identification of this or that river with the Meles. Nor need the mention of "springs" cause any difficulty. This has been supposed to favour the opinion that the Caravan Bridge River was the Meles : that river, as has been said, is fed by a large number of springs in the hills. But Himerius says that the springs of the Meles "rose close together" ; and this could scarcely be said of the widely scattered hill-streams which feed the Caravan Bridge

*Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, v., 118 : Restituta ab Alexandro in ora Smyrna amne Meleti gaudens non procul orto.

†Pausanias, vii., v. 12 : Σμυρναίοις δὲ ποταμὸς Μέλης ὕδωρ ἐστι κάλλιστον, καὶ σπήλαιον ἐπι ταῖς πηγαῖς ἔνθα Ὅμηρον ποιῆσαι τὰ ἔπη λέγουσιν.

‡ ἄντρον, σπήλαιον, are applied to buildings : see the lexicons.

River. Moreover, those who hold that the mention of several springs points to the identification of the Meles with the Caravan Bridge River are involved in a much greater difficulty with regard to the cave, which, Pausanias says, was "beside the springs". For how any one cave can have been beside the various springs that run into the Caravan Bridge River requires some demonstration. On the other hand, if we accept the hypothesis that there was an artificial grot at the Baths of Diana, the difficulty vanishes.

How, after reading the descriptions of the Meles which have been quoted from ancient authors, any one can affirm that the Caravan Bridge River is the modern representative of the Meles, it is difficult to conceive. The language exactly, and word by word, fits the Water of Diana; no single expression is applicable to the Caravan Bridge River. But Smyrniot prejudice clings to the view that the longer river nearer the city was the Meles, the birthplace of Homer, and Smyrniots are hard to convince that the evidence is all in favour of Chalka-Bunar. Tsakiroglos* indignantly excludes the latter from consideration as being "not a river at all, but a mere group of springs, and yet, forsooth, is thought worthy to bear the world-famed and adored name of the Meles!" Some of Tsakiroglos' arguments to prove that the Meles is the Caravan Bridge River are ingenious, but they will not bear examination. He attempts to explain Aristides' comparison of the Meles to a canal by reference to an ancient channel of the Caravan Bridge River, traces of which have been found not far from its present course, east of the Pagus. But this explains away only an infinitesimal fraction of the difficulties that arise in this view. It does not satisfy us, for instance, how the Caravan Bridge River can ever have formed a deep channel, capable of bearing barges, immediately below its springs; nor how the words, "rising and entering the sea in the same spot," can be applied to a river rising beyond the hills twelve miles away in an upland valley. Moreover, can the "whole course" of such a river "be taken in at a glance"?

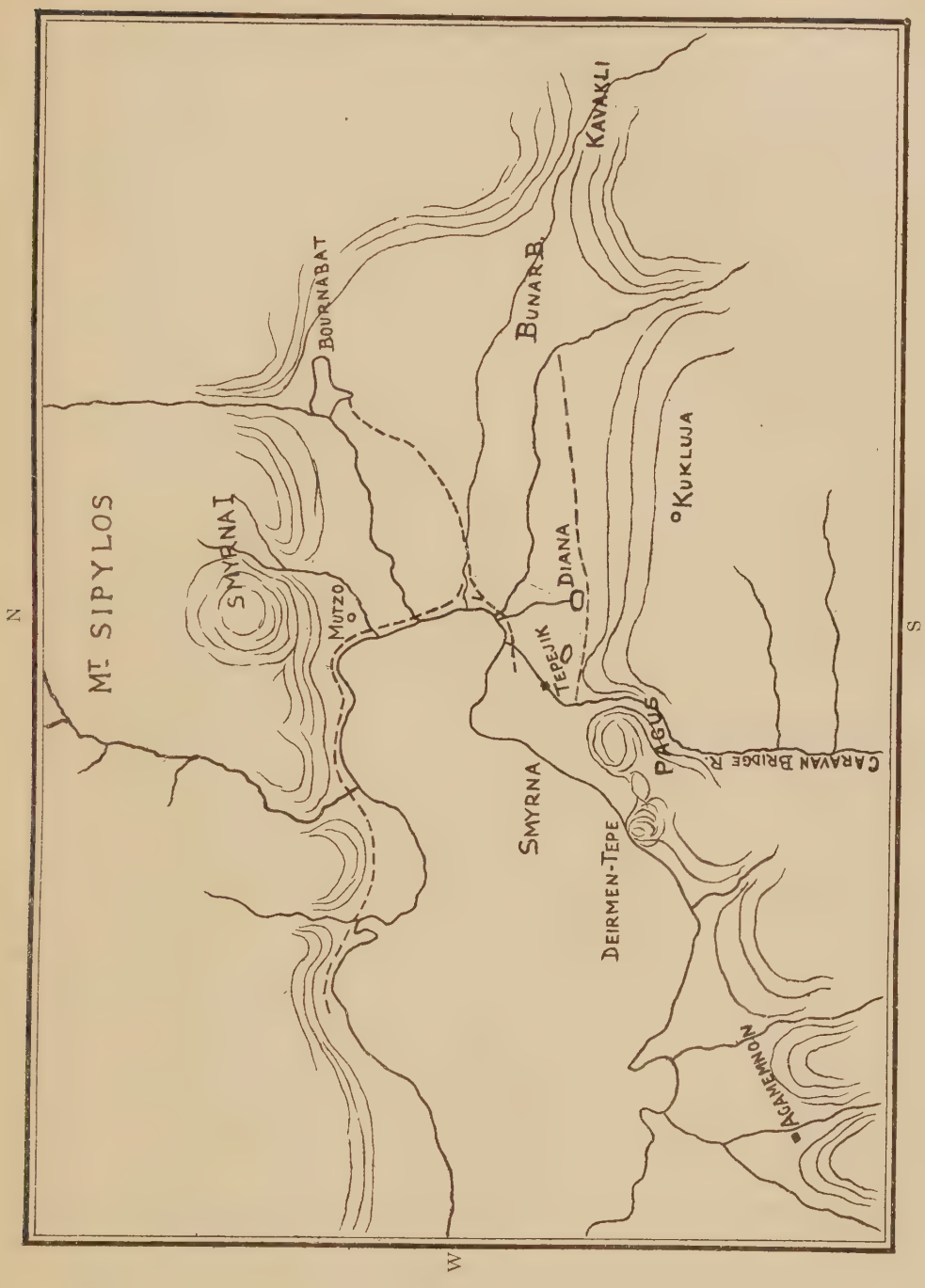
* Σμυρναικά, vol. ii., p. 44.

Tsakiroglos is involved in even greater absurdities when he tries to fit the walk described by Aristides* into his view of the situation of the Meles. In order to do this, he has to conduct Aristides on his imaginary walk from the Baths of Diana up the road to Kukluja, a village high on the hills to the south-east of Smyrna. But in this case Aristides would be walking straight away from Smyrna, and from what point in such a walk could the traveller be said to see the city δι' ἐλάττονος ἤδη? Further, the change of position indicated by Aristides would not enable a man walking in this direction to get a full view of the city. In order to do this, a man, instead of "placing what was before him on his right hand and what was on his left before his eyes," would have to face about. Aristides was, in fact, thinking of a walk in an entirely different direction, as has been shown above. If the Meles were the Caravan Bridge River, what would have met the traveller on crossing it was not a wide piece of reclaimed ground, but a large suburb of Smyrna.

But the opinion that the Meles was the Caravan Bridge River seems to receive stronger support from a difficult passage of Strabo. Strabo's evidence for the topography of Smyrna, it must be noted, is not so valuable as that of Aristides. The description of a visitor to the city cannot be preferred to that of a dweller in the city. Aristides lived much in Smyrna, and was one of her most distinguished and honoured citizens. He spoke to people well acquainted with and proud of their local features, and, despite the poetical language in which he clothes many of his descriptions, we feel in reading the Smyrnaean speeches that they are the work of a man who thoroughly knew the place he was describing and praising. We cannot say so much of Strabo.

Strabo speaks of Smyrna and the Meles in the following terms:† "And now (Smyrna) is the fairest city on earth, having a fortified part on the hill, but its greater part in the plain beside the harbour and the temple of the Mother-Goddess, and the Gymnasium". Further

* See page 102 f. † Strabo, 646.


KAVAKLI
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on he says, "and the river Meles flows close to the wall". This statement that the Meles was close to the wall, following as it does his mention of the "walled part on the hill," gives a *prima facie* plausibility to the claims of the Caravan Bridge River to be the Meles; for it flows close to the line of the walls of Lysimachus, which formed the fortification on the hill to which Strabo refers. But it must be observed that Strabo's mention of a fortified part of the city on the hill does not preclude the possibility that there existed, even in his day, defensive lines round the enlarged city. His words show that some of the buildings supposed to have stood on the ground east of the Caravan Bridge River existed in his time; and he might well speak of the Acropolis being "fortified" without prejudice to such fortifications as may have existed in other parts of the city. It may of course be objected to this, that if by the τεῖχος beside which, according to him, the Meles ran, he meant a wall between the Caravan Bridge River and Diana's Water, he would have specified the existence of such a wall separately. But the objection has no weight. Strabo in his brief description of Smyrna had to omit much, and he could not include in it a full account of the walls and of the different parts constructed at different times: probably he did not know the history of their construction; certainly he thought the subject unimportant.

It is a pleasure to thank Prof. W. M. Ramsay for much readily-given help in writing this paper. He informs me that the great fountains in which many of the Anatolian rivers, like the Meles, have their source, rise, as a rule, in a large number of springs gushing out of the ground near one another. There are two such large fountains in the Smyrna valley, Bunar-Bashi, the ancient Periklystra, and Chalka-Bunar, the Meles. Such streams were sacred; but variable rivers, which waxed and almost disappeared in the cycle of the year, were not sacred, for they lacked the divine character of uniformity and continuousness.

# III.

# EPITAPHS IN PHRYGIAN GREEK.

A. PETRIE.

# EPITAPHS IN PHRYGIAN GREEK.

The text of the following inscriptions is based on the epigraphic copies of Prof. Ramsay. Some of them have been published by Le Bas and Waddington, and by M. Perrot in his *Exploration Archéologique;* and most of them have been revised at a comparatively recent date by Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, of Christ Church, Oxford. The restorations in the text, unless otherwise mentioned, are those of the transcription given me by Prof. Ramsay ; * and restorations suggested by him, when not printed in the text, are indicated by the letter *R.* Of the other letters in the apparatus criticus, *A.* = Anderson ; *L.* = Le Bas ; *W.* = Waddington ; *Per.* = Perrot. Readings due to myself are denoted by *P.*

## I. FIVE EPITAPHS FROM ALTYN-TASH.

### (1)

Copied *L.*, *Per.*, *R.*, 1881, *A.*

Ἐνθάδε γῆ κατέχει Θεοδώραν τὴν περί[βωτον
καὶ κάλλι καὶ μεγέθι καὶ ἐμφροσύνῃ δὲ μάλιστα,
ἣ(ς) φάος ἠελίου γλυκερώτερον οὐκέτι λάμπει.

* [This transcription (except of the last two) was begun to be prepared for publication in 1881-4, but was left unfinished in the pressure of other work, and handed over to Mr. Petrie in its inchoate form. I made much use of M. Perrot's publication of several of the inscriptions, and tender my best thanks to him. I did not then possess Kaibel's *Epigrammata e lapidibus.* This last work was not in Mr. Petrie's hands (owing to my forgetting his very useful collection), but I have taken the liberty of adding some references to his readings, which are derived from older copies, and often disregard the text on the stone. A complete statement of various readings seems needless. Mr. Anderson's revision of the texts on the stones in 1897 has been invaluable.—W. M. R.]

ἄνθεα πάντα φύουσιν, κάλλος δὲ τὸ σὸν μεμάρανται,
καὶ γῆ σε κατέχει καὶ ἀνέκβατος οἶκος [ἔδη]σεν.
τείμησεν πατρὶς ὅλη τὴν σὴν γνώμην καθορῶντες.
Θεοδώρα, κλάδος ἐλέας, ταχὺ πῶς ἐμαράνθης;
κλαύσατ' ἐλαίμονα πάντες Θεοδώρας νεότηταν,
τὴν σώφρονα καὶ εὐγενίδα, ἣ τὴν πατρίδα προέλιψεν.

Ὀνήσιμος Φιλέρωτος ἔτι ζῶν σὺν τοῖς παιδίοις μου
Φιλήτῳ καὶ Καλλιγενείᾳ καὶ Ὀνησίμῃ, σὺν τῷ γαμβρῷ
Εὐτυχίῳ, μετὰ τοῦ ἐγγόνου Βασιλίου, ἐποιήσαμεν μνήμης
χάριν.

3. ἣ(ς), *P.*; ᾗ, Kaibel, *R.* λάμπει, *A.*
5. οἶκος, *A.*; Ὀ[ρκ]ος, *L.*, *W.*; ὅ[ρμ]ος, Kaibel.
8. ἐλαίμονα, *i.e.* ἐλήμονα for ἐλεήμονα. The reading Λ is certain, *R.*, A. [δ]αίμονα, Kaibel.
9. προέλιψεν, *A.*

Here wrapt in earth lies Theodora—Theodora renowned for beauty and stature and above all for prudence: now shines not the sun's light on aught more fair than she. All the flowers do spring, but thy bloom is faded, and earth laps thee, and the house whence none may 'scape hath bound thee fast. All thy country honoured thee to see thy wisdom. Theodora, thou olive bough, why thus untimely withered? Weep all for Theodora's pitiful youth—Theodora, the discreet and the noble, that hath prematurely left her country.

Onesimus son of Phileros the surviving father, with my children Philetus, Calligenia and Onesime, together with Eutychius my son-in-law and Basilius my grandson, erected this to her memory.

The name was probably pronounced Theudora, like many others beginning with *θεο-* in later centuries, *cf.* Theuprepia in an inscription of Orkistos, Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phr.*, ii., p. 736, and note there.

(2)

Copied *A.*

—]δύο νύνφαι Ἀμμία [καὶ Ζωσ]ίμης
ἀοιδ?]ίμης ἀντάξιον ἀμοιβῆς κὲ Ζωτικὸς ἔγγονος.

. . . and two daughters-in-law, Ammia and Zosimes (honoured) one who was worthy of the recompense of a memorial in verse ; and a grandson Zoticus. The conclusion of an epitaph dedicated to the head of a large household ; see pp. 71, 82, 150, 373 f.

(3)

Copied *L.*, *Per.*, *R.*, 1881, *A.*

Ἀλέγεον τόδε σῆμα πατὴρ εἴδρυσε θυγατρί,
ἀθανάτην τειμήν, μνημόσυνον δακρύων·
Μήτηρ δὲ ἡ βαρυπενθὰς ἐπὶ τέκνου ταχυμοίρου
ἐμαυτὴν ζῶσα συγκατέθηκα τάφῳ,
εἵνεκον ἱστοργῆς δάκρυσι μυρομένα.
Χαίροις, αἰσθλὲ ὁδεῖτα, σοφῷ νοὶ μάννε τειμὰν
Πλούτωνος βασιλῆος ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,
ᾧ χωρὶς μακάρων πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα.
ἔστι γὰ(ρ) καὶ ἐν φθιμένοις Νέμεσις μέγα, ἔστι ἐπὶ τύνβοις,
μὴ βλ]άψ[η]ς τύνβον ἀλλὰ ἀναγνοὺς πάριθι.
Τειμέας καὶ Νάνα γονεῖς.

3. Μήτηρ δὲ *β.*, *L.*

5. ἱστοργὴ is no doubt a popular form of στοργή, illustrating the same prothetic tendency as is seen in French "ésprit" as compared with Latin "spiritus" (p. 152).

6. Heimsoeth *ap.* Kaibel ; οἱ μάννε, *W.* ; οἴμ', ἄννε, *Per.*

9. μέγα, Kaibel ; μετὰ ἔστι (= s'attache aux tombeaux), *Per.*

10. The words before τύνβον are completely lost in the copies of *R.* and *Per.* ; the latter has only the last two words of the line. *A.* has . . . \AΨPIE and restores as above. ἀλλὰ ἐμοῦ πάριθι, *L.*

'Twas a father that raised to his daughter this imperishable monument, an honour undying, a memorial of his tears ; and I, the mother, grief-stricken at my child's untimely death, laid me down

alive with her in the tomb, pining with tears for my love of her. A blessing on thee, good wayfarer, and fail not with prudent mind to show her * such reverence as pertains to Pluto, king of men that live upon the earth, to whom, saving only the immortals, we all are due. For even 'mong the dead hath Nemesis great power, even amid sepulchres holds she sway. Wherefore do no despite to this tomb, but read and pass by. Teimeas and Nana, parents.

(4)

Copied by *L.*, *R.*, *A.* On a "door-stone".

Above the door, in larger letters, is

Γράπτη Ἰανουαρίου ♂ γυνὴ κουριδία ἡρω(ί)ς, χαῖρε.

In the usual place is the epigram.

Κουριδίους θαλάμου[ς] Γράπτη λύσασα πρ[ο]λείπω
Ἰανουάριν τὸν ἐμὸν χρηστότατον γαμέταν,
ὅν συ, θεὰ Κ[ύ]πρι, [μ]οι φιλέοις σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ Χαρι[τωνι

In right lower panel,

τέκνα δέ μοι καὶ αὐτὸν σώζοιτε ἱκετεύω,
τούτους γὰρ προλιποῦσα ὑπά[γ]ω πάντων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

1. HPωTЄ///, *R.*; HPωTOHPC, *L.*; HPωTC, *A.* ἡρωΐς (*R.*, *A.*) is certain, T in all copies being an engraver's error for I (*R.*). *W.* suggests πρωτόμορος, which Kaibel adopts; but it is utterly unjustifiable.

2. χρηστότατον, *L.*, *A.*; -ταταν, *R.*

3. θεὰ Κ[ύ]πρι [μ]οι, *W.*; ΘЄ ΑΚΠΡΙΔΑ, *A.*; ΘЄ ΛΚΠΡΙΑ, *R.*; ΘЄ ΑΚΡΠΙΜ, *L.* "The letter after ΘЄ ΛΚ is like TI, placed so close that the cross-bar of T touches I.," *R.* [κ]αί[κ]α, *W.*; ΚΑΙΧΑΡ, *R.*; ΧΑΙΧΑΡ, *L.*; ΚΑΙΧΑΡΙ, *A.*; σὺν καί is often used in Phrygian Greek practically in the sense of σύν simply. Χαρ[ίτεσσι], Wilamowitz *ap.* Kaibel.

4. σώζοιτε, *L.*; confirmed by *A.* (ζοπε); cωzωτε, *R.* Before ἱκετεύω *W.* inserts [θεοί], ("for which there is no room on the stone," *R.*).

Grapte, Januarius' wedded wife, of blessed memory, farewell.

Casting off my bridal bonds, I, Grapte, leave behind me Januaris, my most worthy husband; whom I pray thee, goddess Cypris,

* The honour of Pluto is given to the dead, see pp. 271 ff.

to follow with thy favour, and likewise my father Chariton. My children and him, I beseech you, protect. For these I leave behind and go beneath (the earth) on behalf of them all.*

(5)

Copied *Per.*

Ἄρτι με γευομένην ζωῆς βρέφος ἥρπασε δαίμων
οὔπω τρίετιν ἤδη· ἔτρε[φεν] ἐν ο[ἴκῳ]
ἁ Τρύφω με ματρώνα ἀδέον[τα] [τιθή]νη
νημηθέα μ᾽ ὄ[λ]βιον εἶναι.
ἡ δέσ[ποινά] με Μοῖρα καθήρπασε καί μ[ε] πέδα[ισ]ι
μέγα λυπεῖ. τῆς μέμνησ[ο] [καὶ παρέλθ]ον
πάντα ἀγαθὸς καὶ εὐτυχ[ής.
Separately in lower left-hand corner,
ο]ὐκ οἶδα ε[ἴ]τε κ[α]κῶν α[ἴτ]ιον εἴτε ἀγαθῶν.

2. ο[ἴκῳ], *P.*

3. ἀδέον[τα] [τιθή]νη, *P.*

4. *νημηθέα*, if right, must be a compound from *νη-* and rt. *μήδομαι*, *cf.* *προ-μηθής*, and the infin. clause appears to be epexegetic of *ἔτρε[φεν]* = "brought me up in thoughtless bliss".

5. *ἡ δέσ[ποινα]*, P. *δέσποινα* was often joined with the names of goddesses: *e.g.*, Ἑκάτη, Aesch., *Fr.*, 374; Ἄρτεμις, Soph., *El.*, 626, etc.; at Athens especially it was a name of Persephone, and so might easily pass to Μοῖρα, the goddess of death in Homer, *Il.*, 4, 517; 18, 119. *ἡ δὲ σ[εμνὴ]*, Kaibel.

6. *μέμνησ[ο] [καὶ παρέλθ]ον*, *P.*

A child was I that had but begun to taste of life when death seized me, or ever my third year was told. The lady Trypho was my nurse and brought me up in her house, well filled with cheer, to a life of thoughtless bliss. Fate, imperious queen, snatched me away and grievously afflicts me with fetters. Remember me and pass by, and all good luck go with thee! . . .

(My birth!) I know not whether 'twas the cause of good or ill.

* The grave and the funeral are here represented as an atoning sacrifice on behalf of all her family. This idea is characteristic of the Phrygian religion: see p. 273 f. of this volume.

On this epitaph M. Perrot remarks : "Sculpture et ornamentation, le tout est d'un travail détestable" (*Ex. Arch.*, p. 126). Two or three hexameters can be distinguished, but the arrangement of the rest of the lines is very doubtful. The last line is a Greek proverb.

## II. TWO EPITAPHS FROM ZEMME.

### (6)

Copied *R.*, *A.*

Παιδείας μέτοχος κὲ ἀνάγνοθι τοῦτο [τ]ὸ σῆμα,
τίνος χάριν μνήμη γράμμασιν ἐν[τε]τύπ[ω]τη.
Ζωτικὸς ἐνθάδε κεῖμη ὑπὸ χθόνα τήνδε κ[αλύπτ]ρη[ν·
οὐκ ἔφυγον πατρίδας βουλῇ [παλάμῃσ]ιν [ὀνήσας,
ἀλλὰ θεοῦ βουλαῖς κ[ὲ] ἄν [τ]έλος ἦλθον [ἀ]π[άν]των.
εἰ δὲ θέλις τὸ ἀληθῆ, ὦ ξεῖνε, πυθέσθιν,
σάρξ ἐν γῇ ἀ[π]όκειτη [ὅ]θεν κὲ ἐλήφθη,
ψυχὴν δὲ θεὸς σῶσεν οὐρανίοις ἐνὶ [ζ]ῶσιν.
λεῖψα δ' ἐμὴν γαμετὴν χήρην ἐνὶ οἴ[κ]ῳ
Ἀμμίαν, ἧ ζῶν [εὐφ]ράν[θ]ην κὲ νέκυς ὢν ἑταίρ(ῃ).
κάλλιπα κὲ [θ]υ[γ]άτραν, Φιλ[ο]πάτραν, οὔνομα χρηστόν,
ἐλπίδα εἰς γῆρας κὲ ἀνάπαυμα τεκούσῃ,
ἥ κὲ τύμβον ἐμοὶ μνήμης χάριν ἵδρυσεν ἔνθα.

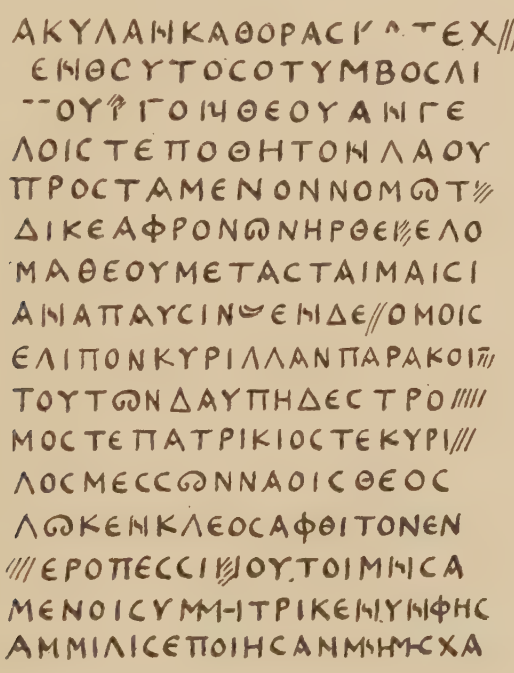
(Garland beneath.)

2. ἐν[τε]τύπ[ω]τη, *P.*
3. κ[αλύπτ]ρη[ν], *P.*
4. [παλάμῃσ]ιν, *P.* ; II MI IN, *R.* ; [ὀνήσας, *P.*
10. [εὐφ]ράν[θ]ην, *P.* ; ἑταίρ(ῃ), *P.* ; ἑταίρην, *R.*
11. Φιλοπάτραν, *P.* ; φίλε, πάτραν, *R.* The letter after ΦΙΛ is C.
12. ἐλπίδα, *P.* ; Ἐλπίδα, *R.*

Thou that art schooled may'st also read this monument, and learn why it is that my memory is here engraved in letters. 'Tis I, Zoticus, that lie here beneath this veil of earth. I did not escape *

* The plural, "townships," refers to the scattered villages, contrasted with the single *patris* of a Greek citizen.

although I had helped my native townships with heart and hand, but by the counsels of heaven came I even to the end appointed for all. If thou art fain, stranger, to learn the truth, my flesh is laid in the ground, whence also it was taken; but my soul hath God saved among those that live in heaven. My wife I left a widow in my house, even Ammia, a helpmeet with whom in life and death have I found pleasure. A daughter, too, I left behind, Philopatra, auspicious name, a hope for old age and a support to her mother: she it was who raised a tomb here to my memory.



(7)

Copied *R*. Surface defaced and hardly legible.

Ἀκύλαν καθορᾷς [κατ]έχει, [ξ]έν[ε], οὗτος ὁ τύμβος,
λιτουργὸν θεοῦ, ἀνγέλοις τε ποθητόν,

λαοῦ προστάμενον, νόμω τὰ δίκεα φρονῶν(τα).
ἦρθέ [τ]ε [δ]ῶμα θεοῦ μέ[γ]ας ταιμαῖσι ἀνάπαυσιν.
ἐν δὲ δόμοις ἔλιπον Κυρίλλαν παράκοι[τιν.
τούτων δ' αὖ πῆδες Τρό[φι]μός τε Πατρίκιός τε Κύρι[λ]λος,
μεσσ' ὧν ναοῖς' θεὸς δῶκεν κλέος ἄφθιτον ἐν μερόπεσσιν,
οὗτοι μν[η]σάμενοι σὺμ μητρὶ κὲ νύνφῃς Ἀμμίαις
ἐποίησαν μνήμης χάριν.

1. ἔνθ' for [ξ]έν[ε] is possible.
4. ἦρθε for ἦλθε. A better restoration of the line is needed.

The grave thou beholdest, stranger, is of Akylas, a minister of God, dear to the angels ; a chief of the people, who gave heed to the just precepts of the law. He came to his rest in the house of God, great in honours. In my house left I my wife Kyrilla.

Their sons Trophimus, Patricius and Cyrillus, in whose hands God bestowed on the temples undying glory among men, along with their mother and the Ammias, their wives, erected this to his memory.

On the date and meaning, see Anderson on p. 201.

III.

(8)

Utch-Eyuk. *R.* 1884. (A. Souter in *Class. Rev.*, 1896.)

Αὐρ. Μένανδρος Πρόκλου κὲ Ἄππης τέκνῳ φιλτάτῳ Πρόκλῳ κὲ ἑαυτοῖς ζῶντες κὲ [τ]ὰ τέκ[να] αὐτῶν Τρόφιμος κὲ Μέναν̣δρ]ος κὲ Κύριλλα κὲ Δόμνα νύνφη μ. χ. κὲ Τατιανὴς θυγάτηρ.

[φ]αιδρότατον βωμὸν στῆσα[ν] σημάντορα τύμβου.
εὖτ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε ῥ[έ]ει καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλῃ,
καὶ ποταμο[ὶ] ναίουσιν, ἀναβρύζῃ δὲ θά[λα]σ(σ)α,
αὐτῷ τῷδε μενῶ πολυκλαύτῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ.
ἀγγέλλω παριοῦσ[ιν ὅτι] Πρόκλος ὧδε τέθαπται,
πᾶσι ποθητὸν ἐόντα καὶ ἐν βιότῳ πανάριστον.
[ε]ἴκ[οσι καὶ δύ'] ἐτῶν ἔλιπον φάος, αἶψα δὲ μο(ῖ)ρα
καρπαλίμως ἐδάμασσε καὶ (αἶ)σα λυγρὴ [ἐ]πόρουσε.

αὐτὸς δ' Ἐννοσίγαιος ἔχωνέν χείρεσσι τρίαιναν
κτεῖνέ με τὸν μέλεον Τενβρογίου παρὰ ῥεῖθρα.

7. OIKETωN on stone. [ε]ἴκ[οσι και δν'], *R.*

9. This line which appears in a somewhat incongruous setting is *Il.*, xii., 27.

10. The Tembrogius is mentioned by Pliny (*N.H.*, vi., 1) as a tributary of the Sangarius in Phrygia. See p. 188.

Aurelius Menander, the son of Proclus, and Appes, the surviving parents, with their children, Trophimus, Menander, Cyrilla, their married daughter Domna, and her daughter Tatianes, erected this memorial to the memory of their dear son Proclus and to their own.

A splendid altar they raised to mark his tomb. While water flows and the tall trees burgeon, and rivers glide and the sea swells, here on this spot will I abide by this much-wept tomb. To the passers by I proclaim that Proclus here lies buried—Proclus of all desired and most excellent in his life. Two and twenty years had I seen when I left the light: forthwith did Fate quickly subdue me and a baneful doom o'erwhelmed me. The Earthshaker himself with his trident in his hands slew me, luckless wight, by Tembrogius' streams.

(9)

On a rock to the south of the Tomb of Midas. "M. Mordtmann thinks he can recognise in it an invocation in honour of Apollo, which would have been engraved on the rock 'par quelque païen zélé,' at the moment when the emperor Julian, marching against the Persians, was traversing Asia Minor" (Perrot). Copied *Mordtmann*, *Per.*, *R.*, 1881.

Χαῖρε μάκαρ, πυλύολβε θεῶν, Ὑπερείονε λάνπων,
πάντων γὰρ φίλος ἐσθλὸς πάτρης πρόμος ἐνθάδε νήει,
πατρὶς ἐμὴ Βεννευεκὴ λάμβανε πλησία καρπούς.

2. πατρὶ καὶ προμος, Mordtmann.

3. Βεννευεκή is the land of the god Bennis, on which see pp. 200, 211, and *Hist. Geogr. of As. Min.*, p. 144.

Hail, shining Hyperion, immortal, supremely blessed among the gods : here dwells a true friend of his country, the foremost of all. Benneuecé, my neighbouring native land, receive thine offspring.

(10)

In the cemetery, Yaliniz-Serai. Altar. Copied *R.*, 1884.

Σύμμαχος Ἀντύλ[λου] κὲ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀντ[ύλ]λος κὲ Ἀλέξανδρος [κὲ] Σύμμαχος κατὰ χ[ρησ]μὸν Κλαρίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀν[έσ]τησαν.

ΧΡΗΣΜΟΣ

Εἴσατέ μοι βωμὸν π[αν]θηέα τῇδ' ἐνὶ χώρῃ,
εἰς αὐγὰς ἀθρέοντα πολυσκόπου ἠελιοιο·
εὐαγίας δ' ἐπὶ τοῦδε τε[λ]είετε μηνὸς ἑκάστου,
ὄφρα κεν ἀλκήτωρ τε[λέ]θων τὰ συν[ώρ]ια τεύχω.
τῶγ] καρπῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ πέλο[μ]αι [μ]ερόπεσσι παρέκτω[ρ,
οὓς] ἐθέλω σῶ(ση) τε κὲ [οἷς] κλέος οἶδα φορέσκειν.

4. συν[ώρ]ια, *A.*; Mr. W. R. Paton suggested an engraver's error for ὁ. κ. ἀ. τε[λέ]θων (σ)τά(χ)υν ὥρια τεύχω, *cf.* τελέθει καρπόν, *Or. Sib.*, iii., 263.

6. σῶ(ση), *R.* for σωης on stone.

Erected by Symmachus, son of Antyllus, and his sons Antyllus, Alexander, and Symmachus to Klarius Apollo, in accordance with an oracle.

The Oracle.

Stablish me in this land an altar of fragrant incense (?), looking toward the rays of the far-seeing sun ; and holy sacrifices offer thereon every month, that so I may be your helper and make your fruits to grow in their season. For I am he that provideth the fruits for mortal men, whom I wish to preserve and whom I know how to glorify.

## TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF TCHAKIRSAZ.

11. Copied R. 1888, revised A. 1897.

οὐδὶς [ἀθά]νατος, εἰ μὴ μόνον ἷς θεὸς αὐτός,
ὁ πάντων γεν[ετή]ς κὲ πᾶσι τὰ πάντα μερίζων.
οἵτι[νες ἐν]θάδε κῖνται, ὧν τοὔνομα γράμ[μασι λ]έξω ⁂
πρῶτον μὲν Τρόφιμον, μετέπιτα δ' Ἀντέρως υἱός,
κὲ θυγάτηρ Γλύκη, Ἀλεξανδρία δὲ νύμφη
κὲ ταύτης υἱὸς Εὐτυχιανὸς. τούτοις ζῶντες ἐποίησαν μνήμης χάριν ἔτι ζῶντες ⁂ Τροφίμου σύμβιος Ἡλιανὴ κὲ τούτων τὰ τέκνα Μακεδόνις κὲ Αὐξάνων κὲ Κυριακὴ θυγάτηρ κὲ ἡ νύμφη αὐτῶν Σίγεριs ⁂ κὲ τὰ ἔγγονα αὐτῶν Τρόφιμος κὲ Ἀντέρως (κὲ) Μακεδόνις κὲ Ζωτικὸς κὲ Μαρκιανὴ κὲ Νόννα ἐποίησαν μ. χ.

1. ναιος R. ; A. saw that ι was a broken τ.
2. First Π above the line, read by J. G. C. A.
9. The N in Ἀντέρως, and K in Μακεδόνις are inserted above the line : κέ seems to have been omitted by error.

The common expression on gravestones (especially Christian, but sometimes pagan), οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος, is here expanded into two lines: "No one is immortal except only the one God Himself, who is father of all and gives all things to all".

Heliane and three children living, erected the tomb to Trophimos and two dead children, and a dead daughter-in-law with her son. Another daughter-in-law of Trophimos and Heliane also made the grave. Apparently as an afterthought, with a new verb, the six grandchildren (children of Alexandria or Sigeris) are added.

12. Copied A. Short marginal additions to ll. 6, 8, 11.

Four epigraphic lines obliterated ἐνθ[ά]δε κῖται Εὐτυχιανός 5
ᾧ κ[α]τάκιτα[ι] ζῶ[ν] χρόνον ἡμιτ|ελῆ CAC 5, 6
XOPMOЄ νωνυμίης κεχ[αρισμέν]ος ἐμ με|ρό|πεσσιν 6, 7
δ[ς] ἐπό[λευ]σε θεόν,| λιπὸν τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντ|α.| 7, 8

Πολυ[φ?]ήμιος ἔνθάδε κῖται| σὺν κουριδίῃ τ᾽ ἀλόχῳ Ἀμα-
ράν|τῃ 9, 10
σεμνοτάτῃ κὲ υἱῷ Κυρίλλ|ῳ| ταχυμοίρῳ ὃ]ς [ἔ]θα[νε] νέος, 11, 12
λύπησεν δὲ γονῖς κὲ τήν συνγένιαν ἅπᾶσαν 13
ἄνδρα μιλίχιον| κὲ εὐκλεᾶ [π]αῖδάς [τ]ε 13, 14
ὁ δὲ Παπ|πίκιος κὲ Θεόδοτος ἔτι ζῶν|τες μνημόσυνον 14, 15, 16
ἐποίησαν ἑ|αυτοῖς σὺν ταῖς γυνη[ξὶ Ἅππῃ?] κὲ Ματρώνῃ, 16, 17
ἀλλὰ κὲ τ[ὰ τ]έκ[ν]α αὐτ|ῶν| Κύριλλος κὲ Εὐτύχιος [κὲ] 18, 19
Πατρίκιος| κὲ Παππίκιος [ἐπ]οίησαν μνήμης χάριν. 20

This is the worst in metre and sense of all the epitaphs of the district.

6. Perhaps -τελήσας for τελέσσας.

6, 7. X. (some personal name) satisfied with want of reputation among men, who tended God and deserted the whole world: νωνυμίην in a Christian metrical epitaph of Phrygia, see Ramsay, *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, ii., p. 743, No. 681. Hesychius explains πολεύειν· θεραπεύειν.

11, 12. The hexameter which is imitated is spoilt by an unmetrical proper name, and by a gloss appended to explain the last word ταχυμοίρῳ.

17. Ἅππῃ is inserted merely to show the construction.

18. τὰ τέκνα, A. (τωεκ· α copy).

## A.

### The Zemme Epitaphs.

Of the inscriptions, the two from Zemme, Nos. 6 and 7, are clearly Christian in character. The phraseology of the latter, *e.g.*, λιτουργὸς θεοῦ, recalls that of the New Testament, while line 7 of the former affords a remarkable parallel to Gen. iii. 19, . . . "till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken". Christianity appears to have been introduced into Phrygia at an early date, and to have made rapid progress in this district. See p. 196.

Two inscriptions read by Le Bas in the neighbourhood of Altyn-Tash (783, 785; C. 3857 *p* and 3857 *g*) end with Χρηστιανοὶ Χρηστιανῷ ἐποίησαν and Χρηστιανο[ὶ Χρηστι]ανῇ respectively; while the tombstone in another case (780, C. 3857 *t*) shows the

figure of a cross. "These inscriptions, from the shape of the characters and the style of the sculptures which accompany them, can scarcely be later than the third century of our era. Thus, several decades before Constantine, in this part of the empire, the adherents of the new religion were sufficiently numerous, and felt themselves sufficiently strong, to take publicly, on a stele exposed to the eyes of the world, the title of Christian" (Perrot, *Expl. Arch.*, p. 126).

## B.

### The Language of the Inscriptions.

The language of the foregoing inscriptions, which are to be referred probably to the second and third centuries after Christ is, on the whole, comparatively pure; still there are several noticeable symptoms of decay, even when we have made due allowance for the idiosyncrasies of the engraver.

(1) The vowel system exhibits striking modifications. Some of these are traceable in their beginnings even in the language of the classical period, while others must have developed rapidly in the opening centuries of the Christian Era. Thus we have:—

$\epsilon = \alpha\iota$: κέ, δίκεα.

$\alpha\iota = \epsilon$: αἰσθλός.

$\eta = \alpha\iota$: κεῖμη.

From this remarkable interchange we must conclude that to the engraver $\epsilon$, $\eta$, and $\alpha\iota$ were identical in sound, and we have evidence to show that this confusion was by no means local. "Pompeian wall-inscriptions such as ἐνθάδαι μηδὲν εἰσιαίτω, and Egyptian papyri, show the confusion of $\alpha\iota$ and $\epsilon$ in the first and second centuries of our era" (Blass). *Cf.* Meisterhans, *Gr. d. att. Inschr.*, S. 27. So also we have $\bar{\iota} = \epsilon\iota$: θέλις, κάλλι, μεγέθι, and $\epsilon\iota = \bar{\iota}$: τείμησεν, εἴδρυσεν. To θέλις we may add πυθέσθιν, which illustrates the same change, though in this case the result has been arrived at by an intermediate stage: the infin. ending has become -ειν on the analogy of the infin. active, and from this comes the form πυθέσθιν.

(2) The forms *θυγάτραν*, *νεότηταν*.

Of all the influences that have been at work in transforming the language, perhaps the most potent is that of analogy, to which the acc. of the third decl. in *-ν* is doubtless to be attributed. The third decl. acc. in *-α*, as compared with the acc. in *-ν*, was felt to be bare and endingless, and *ν* was suffixed to make it like the other, giving rise to such forms as *τὸν πατέραν*, *τὴν μητέραν*, *τὴν ἐλπίδαν*, etc. From this acc. again was formed a new nominative: *ἡ μητέρα*, *ἡ ἐλπίδα*. The same explanation holds good in the case of *νεότηταν*, from which, in like manner, was formed a nom., *ἡ νεότητα*, with numerous parallels in Pontine Greek: *ἡ πλουσιότητα*, *ἡ μεγαλότητα*, *ἀγαθότητα*, etc. See also pp. 60, 153, 224.

(3) The aorists *ἔλειψα*, *κάλλιπα*.

In the case of the tense-formations, there is a strong tendency to uniformity through the expulsion of anomalous forms and the creation of new and regular elements. This tendency is responsible for an enormous number of new futures and weak aorists active, where the future of the middle and the strong aorist were the only forms recognised in the best period of the language. Thus we find to take only a few instances, the futures *ᾄσω*, *ἁμαρτήσω*, *ἀκούσω*, *ἀποδράσω*, *ἀπολαύσω*, *πλεύσω*, *ῥεύσω*; and the first aorists *ᾔρησα*, *ἡμάρτησα*, *ἐβίωσα*, *εἶλξα*, *εἶρψα*, *ἦρθα* (*ἔρχομαι*), *ἔλειψα* (though *λείψας* for *λιπών* is quoted from Aristophanes' *Andromeda*). *κάλλιπα* is an analogous form from the first aorist, and illustrates the levelling which took place in the person-endings, not only the second aorist but also the imperfect and perfect having their first person singular and first and third plural formed on the analogy of the corresponding forms of the weak aorist, *e.g.*, *εἶδα*, *εἴδαμεν*, *εἶδαν*; *ἔφυγα*, *ἐφύγαμεν*, *ἔφυγαν*; *εἶχα*, *εἴχαμεν*, *εἶχαν*; *παρείληφαν*, *C.I.G.*, 3137; *ἀπέσταλκαν*, etc.

(4) Several Doric forms remain to be noticed, chiefly in (3) (Altyn-Tash): *βαρυπενθάς*, *μυρομένα*, *μάννε*, etc. These are somewhat peculiar, for, as M. Perrot remarks, there is no trace of Dorism

in the language of this district. It seems best to suppose, with him, that the forms in question are due to the borrowing of hemistichs from the ancient authors, and it is noteworthy that this epitaph makes more pretensions to smoothness of metre and literary form than almost any of the others.

## C.

### The Forms Ἰανουάριν-Ἰανουαρίου.

The double form of the proper name, -αρις and -αριος, is noticeable in (4) (Altyn-Tash). Examples of -ις for and from -ιος are frequent in Greek (and Latin) proper names on stones of the Roman era, and of *-is* for *-ius* in Roman inscriptions from the earliest date. (J. H. Wright, *Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.*, vol. vi., 1895, *s. v.* ΜΟΥΣΑΙΣ for ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΣ. He quotes Benseler, *Curtius' Studien z. gr. und lat. Gram.*, iii., pp. 149-183, for examples in -αις from -αιος, *e.g.*, Ἀθήναις, Εἰρήναις; in -ις (εις) from -ειος, *e.g.*, Ἤλεις, and adds ΕΡΜΑΙΣ, gen. -ΙΟΥ as having been seen by Prof. Ramsay.) Here we have an instance of the two forms standing side by side. Hatzidakis (*Neugr. Gr.*, p. 318) observes that the great bulk of the examples collected by Benseler are Italian proper names, and supposes that the Greeks, hearing the Romans address each other as *Juli*, *Petroni*, *Aureli*, etc., formed from this vocative a new nominative Ἰούλις, Πετρώνις, Αὐρήλις. He also remarks that a large number of official and other names in -αριος, -αρις, would be introduced into Greek with Roman administration: he quotes φρουμεντάριος, κουβικουλάριος, and some others.

## D.

### The Metre of the Inscriptions.

The metre is in some cases tolerably correct, as judged by classical canons, and a fair guide to restoring the text with something like accuracy; in others it is crude in the extreme, and it is hard to

discover on what system, if any, the engraver has proceeded. Two points, however, seem clear :—

(1) That pronunciation according to the accent will frequently give a line the necessary smoothness, *e.g.* :

τεῖμῆσεν πατρὶς ὅλη τὴν σὴν γνώμην καθορῶντες.

In general it may be said, that probably, if the pronunciation of the place and period were known, the metre would be more recognisable. So, *e.g.*, Theudora in (1), and σε treated as long through emphasis in (1) l. 5. From this point of view it is easy to see why ν ephelkystikon seems to be treated as negligible for position length.

(2) The first line is uniformly correct, suggesting that the engraver had at his disposal a stock of commonplace lines which were in universal use, and would do duty as "exordia," so to speak, in all epitaphs alike, *e.g.*, ἐνθάδε γῆ κατέχει (τὸν δεῖνα) ; ἀένεον τόδε σῆμα (ὁ δεῖνα ἵδρυσε τῷ δεῖνι). When, however, he departs from the beaten track to give details as to the age, character, or occupation of the deceased, his metrical powers are apt to fail him. Thus in (5) (Altyn-Tash) the opening line Ἄρτι με γευομένην ζωῆς βρέφος ἥρπασε δαίμων is of a type which can be easily paralleled from the *C.I.G.* (*cf.* 3715, Ἄρτι γενειάζοντά με βάσκανος ἥ. δ.) ;* but in the second line we are brought up with οὔπω τρίετιν ἤδη. Further down we recognise once more the dactylic rhythm in ἡ δέσ[ποινά] με Μοῖρα καθήρπασε, κ. τ. λ., and this again looks like a line which would be part of the stock-in-trade of every tombstone versifier.

In this district Greek can hardly have been much known ; it was learned as an alien tongue. Prof. Ramsay has frequently pointed out that, apart from the Hellenistic cities, Greek was not the home language in Phrygia, and that it was spread chiefly by Christianity, which killed out the native languages of Anatolia. Teachers are mentioned almost exclusively in Christian inscriptions. See p. 140 n.

* [Kaibel quotes *C.I.G.*, 6257, ἄρτι με γενόμενον ζωᾶς βρέφος ἥρπασε δαίμων, οὐκ οἶδ' εἴτε κακῶν αἴτιον εἴτ' ἀγαθῶν.]

# IV.

# INHERITANCE BY ADOPTION AND MARRIAGE IN PHRYGIA, AS SHOWN IN THE EPITAPHS OF TROPHIMOS AND HIS RELATIVES.

J. FRASER.

# INHERITANCE BY ADOPTION AND MARRIAGE IN PHRYGIA, AS SHOWN IN THE EPITAPHS OF TROPHIMOS AND HIS RELATIVES.

The text of the following two sets of inscriptions is founded on the epigraphic copies furnished by Prof. Ramsay.* The restorations also must be understood to be his, except where otherwise assigned. The second set was published by M. Perrot in *Exploration Archéologique*, but the present text is much fuller, and I have only in a few cases reported M. Perrot's readings.

For the facts in the discussion of the bearing of the inscriptions on the Phrygian laws of inheritance I am indebted to Prof. Ramsay.

In the apparatus criticus restorations contained in the transcription given me by Prof. Ramsay (when not printed in the text) are denoted by *R.;* those of Perrot (in so far as they differ from *R.*: in many easier parts of the text, of course, *P.* and *R.* agree) by *P.* Readings marked *A.* are due to Mr. J. G. C. Anderson of Christ Church ; and my own I have marked *F.*

*[These copies were made in 1884. They were transcribed for publication immediately, but lay amid masses of work half-ready for printing until 1898, when Mr. Anderson took the transcriptions with him and compared them with the stones. Except where he is quoted as disagreeing with my copy, it may be assumed that the text rests on this double authority. Where he is quoted alone for a reading, this indicates that he read more than I did. Monsieur Perrot's copy of II. is not so good as his usual epigraphic work ; he must have seen it in failing light, perhaps regarded it as too worthless for the minute study which is needed in this faint and badly engraved text. The sole interest and value of II. arises from comparison with I., which was unknown to him. Kaibel's edition of II., therefore, contains many blanks (*Epigrammata Graeca e lapidibus conlecta*, 1878, p. 145 f.) ; but these differences are for the most part left unnoticed. See also note p. 119.—W. M. R.]

## I. EPITAPHS OF AURELIOS TROPHIMOS AND HIS DAUGHTER AMMIA, FROM *KURD-KEUI*.

A. Αὐ]ρ. Τρόφιμος Εὐτύχους ἔνθ[α κατάκιτ]η
πρὸς πατέραν αἴλυθον ἔνθ[α γενετ]ῆραν ἐμῖο·
τὸν σοφίης ἐμὲ διδάσκαλο[ν] ἔνομον ἔνθα
λάβε τέλ[ος] θανάτοιο καὶ Πλουτέος οἴκια νήων
ὃς πάντων νεκύων ψυχὰς παρεδέξατο χήρων,
οὐδ' ἄν τις θ[ν]α[τ]ῶν ἑλισσόμενος ἐπὶ κόσμον πάλιν ἔλθῃ,
οὐδὲ θεμ[or ν . . .] Α·Ι·ΙΝΩC ΙC οὐδ' αἰελίου [γλυ]κὺ
φένγος εἰδέσθην,
οὐκ ἄστρων δρόμος ἐστίν, οὐρανόθεν δὲ σελίνης
φ]ένγος οὐκ ἰσορᾶτη, ἰσκοτόεσα δὲ νύξ.
ἀλλὰ παύσα[σ]θε δακρύων κ' ἰς Αἴδα μ[ὴ] π[ρο]ίετε
θρήνους,
μαίδ[ε τήξα]ιτε ψυχὰς δακρύοις μ[αίδ' ἀτ]άρβε[σι θρή]νοις,
ὧν πά[ντων τ]έλος ἐστὶν κὲ [ἀν]άπα[υσις.
ἀλλ' ἐ(μ)ῆς σ[το]ργῆς [μὴ μνήμην προιέ]ντων.
τῆδ' [ἔτρεφον παῖδ]ας κὲ δωδεκάτῳ λυκ[άβαντι
αἴλυθον ἰς 'Αΐδαο δόμο[υς] τὸν ἀφένγεα χῶρον,
τὸν ἱ[ρᾶς] σοφίης ἐμὲ διδάσκαλον ὃς π[ο]τ' ἐκλήθην.
ἀ]λ' ἀγόμην Δόμν[αν] ἐγ[γ]όνην ἣ θάνε πεντε[δ]εκαέ[της.
σῆμα δέ μοι τεῦξαν 'Αμμία θυγάτηρ, θρεπτὸς δὲ
Τελέσφορος
ᾧ λιπόμην κουριδίην [ἄλοχον] 'Αμμίαν ἐμῖο θυγάτρα.

2. γενετ]ῆραν, *i.e.* his father by nature, not by adoption, *F.* θρεπτ]ῆραν, *R.*, comparing inscription III. below with the remarks on it, and understanding "my father, who brought me up in his house".

4. λάκε, *P.*; λά[χ]ε, Kaibel. νήων, *F.*; νήω, Kaibel; οἰκίαν ἤων, *R.*

6. θ[ν]α[τ]ῶν, *F.*; θα[νόντ]ων, *R. A.*, no gap between θ and α; θά[νατο]ν λισσόμενος, Kaibel.

7. *R.* suggests, "as a counsel of despair," οὐδὲ θέμ[ις ῥ]α θ' ἵνωσις, which follows the stone closely, only taking the symbol ·|· between α and ι (which both he and *A.* read) as an engraver's error for θ; he noted in his copy that θεν or θεμ was possible:

"nor is there marriage allowed there, nor the light of the sun pleasant to see": ἔνωσις, σύζευξις, Hesychius. A Christian touch, compare Matt. xxii. 30. ἔ[ν]θεν [ἠοῦς] φην(ού)σ(η)ς is suggested by Kaibel. οὐδ' ἔθεν and [γλυ]κύ, *F.*

9. [ἡ] σκοτόεσα, Kaibel.

10. π[ρο]ίετε, *F.*; πω[ς]ίετε, *R.*

11. τήκαιτε, *i.e.* τήκετε, *R.*; τήξαιτε, *i.e.*, τήξητε, *F.*

12. [ἀν]άπα[υσις, *F.* ἴσον after ἐστίν is common in the epitaphs and would improve the metre.

13. *F.*, ΛΛЄΗЄΓΤΡΗЄ, . . . ντων, *R.*

14. [ἔτρεφον παῖδ]ας, *F.*

16. πρωτ' ἐκλήθην, *P.*

B. Αὐρ. Τατία[ν] λιπόμην σεμνὴν σύνβιον ἐμῖο
ἣ θάνεν αὐτῷ λυκάβαντι ἑβδομαικονταέτης
ἀλ' ἐμῆς (σ)τοργῆς ἔν[εκ]α πρὸς Πλουτέος ἤλυθε δῶμ[α·
Κυριακὸν γὰρ ἐγὼ λιπόμην ἐφ' ἐλπίσι ταύτης
Νόννης γαμέτην συνζευχθῆναι θαλάμῳ·
γανβρὸς γὰρ οὗτος κινωνὸς κἀμοὶ συνίδρυσε τύνβον·
ἀλ' ἐμοὶ μνήμη[ς] χάριν βωμὸν ἵδρυσαν ἔνθα
δόξαν θνητο[ῖς] μνημόσυνον ὃν δι[ὰ β]ίου,
χαίροις, ἠσθλ[ὲ] ὁδῖτα, καὶ ἀναγνοὺς [ἀ]πίθι
κὲ ἐμοὶ συνεύχου τὴν ἐν Ἀείδι μαὶ [β]αρῖσθη κόνιν.

1. Τατιᾳ, *P.*

3. ἔν[εκ]α, *F.*; ἔνθα, *R. A.*; δόμ[ον, *P.*

4. ἐλπίσι, *not uncommon according to Meisterhans*, Gram. d. Att. Insch., p. 86.

6. Κι[μ]ωνος, Kaibel, "son of Kimon," seems hardly possible.

10. [β]αρῖσθη, *F.*; μ[ο]ι [χ]αρίσθη, *R.*

C. Αὐρ. Τελέσφορος κὲ Αὐρ. Αμμία τῇ [ἑ]α[υτῶν]* θυγατρὶ
Αμμίᾳ, κὲ
Νόννα θυγάτηρ τῷ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρὶ Κυριακῷ ἵδρυσ[αν] τό γε σῆμα

D. Ἀμμία θυγάτηρ πινυτὴ πῶς θάνες ἤδη;
τί σπεύδουσα θάνες; ἦ τίς ἐκιχήσατο Μοι[ρ]ῶν,
πρίν σε νυνφικὸν ἰστέφανον κοσμήσαμεν ἠν θαλάμοισιν,

* THΓΛ, *R.*; TH□A, *A.*

πάτρην σε λιπῖν πενθαλέους δὲ τοκῆας;
κ]λήι σε πατὴρ κὲ πᾶσα πάτρη κὲ πότνια μήτηρ
τήν σ[ου] ἀωρότηταν κὲ ἀθαλάμευ[τον] ἡλικίην.
τῆς δ' ἀναφθενξαμ[έ]νη ψυχὴν Ἀμμίαο θανούσης
δάκρυα θερμὰ χέουσα, παρίστατο πατρὶ αἰδὲ τεκούσῃ,
τὴν οἶστρος θανάτοιο λάβεν, [ἔ]ννημαρ δὲ θανοῦσα
λ]εξ[αμ]ένη καθ' ὕπνους [ἐπιτλημοσύν]ην θανάτοιο.
μὴ κλῆε, πάτερ πολυώδυνε, μηδέ σύ, μῆτερ,
ἓν τέλος ἐστὶν τὸ π[ᾶ]σ[ι]ν ὀ[φειλό]μενον, ἀώρα[ν. . . .

3. *ἰστέφανον, F.*; *κοσμέω* construed with two accusatives, the person and the ornament, is found in the Anatolian epitaphs, see p. 278 of this volume; *ἴ στεφ., P.*; *ἰς (σ)τεφ*, Kaibel.

7. *ἀωρότηταν, F.*, Kaibel; *χ]λωρότηταν, P.*; *ἀωροτάτην*, Wilamowitz *ap.* Kaibel.

11. *λ]εξ[αμ]ένη, F.*; *δεξ[αμ]ένη* (Attic *δειξαμένη*), *R. A.* ΠΛΠΓΟΣ . . *ην R.*; *ἐπιτλημοσύνην, F.*

13. *ὀ[φειλό]μενον, F.*; *δωρατ[αι, A.*; *ἄωρα[ν, F.*

Trophimos who appears to have composed these elegant epitaphs was evidently employed by the state (*ἔνομον*) to teach *σοφία*, as he is careful to point out, in his native village (*πρὸς πατέραν αἴλυθον*).* The character of his *ἱερὰ σοφία* is indicated in the half-theological, half-astronomical speculation of I. A, 5-9. It obviously did not embrace a knowledge of Greek syntax and metres.

A. Here lies Aurelios Trophimos, son of Eutyches. Here I came to the father who begot me, and here the doom of death overtook me, the public teacher of wisdom; and I dwell† in the house of Pluto who receives with joy the spirits of all the dead, nor shall any

* The *διδάσκαλος* or *γραμματικός* who is often mentioned in the longer metrical epitaphs (*e.g.*, Kaibel, No. 402, Ramsay, *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, ii., p. 386 [? see footnote there], Ramsay in *Expositor*, Feb., 1906, p. 153) may be assumed to have composed them for the use of the bereaved. Also p. 180, *B.C.H.* 1886, p. 511.

† The stone certainly has *οικιανηων*. If we read *οἰκίαν ᾖων* with *R.*, the meaning will be (taking *ᾖων* as a Phrygian false imp. of *εἶμι*), "I was on the way to the house of Hades". I have suggested below an explanation of *νήων*.

mortal * with the evolution of a cycle come back to the world. There . . . . . nor the light of the sun pleasant to look on. The stars do not pursue their course, and the light of the moon does not shine from heaven, but there is dark night.

Cease weeping and do not waste lamentation on death; weary not your souls with tears nor with endless † lamentation; to all those things there is an end that brings release. Only let them not forget my love.

Here I reared my children and after eleven ‡ years went to the house of Hades, the lightless land, I who was once called § teacher of Sacred Wisdom. I took charge of Domna, my granddaughter who died at the age of fifteen.

My monument was erected by my daughter Ammia, and my adopted son Telesphoros to whom I left my daughter Ammia for wife.

B. I left behind Aurelia Tatia my revered wife, who died in the same year ‖ at the age of seventy; through her love for me she came

* It is not necessary to suppose that T. used *θνητός* in the proscribed sense of "dead". The whole line seems to me to be a hit at the Stoic cosmogony: *cf.* *οἱ δὲ Στωϊκοί φασιν . . . τῶν ἀστέρων ὁμοίως πάλιν φερομένων ἕκαστον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ περιόδῳ γενόμενον ἀπαραλλάκτως ἀποτελεῖσθαι. ἔσεσθαι γὰρ πάλιν Σωκράτην καὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κ.τ.λ.* *Nemes. de Natura Hom.*, c. 38, p. 309, Matthaei. [*θνητός* of the dead Darius, Æsch., *Pers.*, 632, *A.*]

† I take this to be the intended sense of *ἀτ]αρβέ[σι*, if the restoration is right.

‡ He presumably means in the twelfth year after his coming to the place. But it is perhaps more probable that the meaning is "in the twelfth lustrum of my life, *i.e.*, either 44 or 55. Trophimos in that case married a wife much older than himself, who died in the same year at the age of seventy. She was a widow when she was married to Trophimos, and she brought with her her young child Domna, who soon died at the age of 15. Trophimos survived his marriage probably about seventeen to twenty years, for he left one daughter married and one betrothed: marriage doubtless generally took place early in life in Anatolia, as it still does.

§ There appears to be no doubt of the reading here: we must suppose that T. made a slip in syntax.

‖ Or lustrum.

to the house of Pluto. Kyriakos I left with this hope, that he should become the husband of Nonna. For this son-in-law along with the others took part in erecting my monument. It was in memory of me that they placed this altar here, such as brings mortals fame, and will be a memorial of me to them during their lifetime. Hail, honest traveller: read and go thy way, and pray with me that the dust lie lightly on me in the grave.

C. Aurelios Telesphoros and Aurelia Ammia to their daughter Ammia, and Nonna (Trophimos') daughter to her husband Kyriakos erected this monument.

This side of the epitaph (together with D) belongs to a later date than A and B. Ammia and Telesphoros were mentioned in A. Nonna was about to be married to Kyriakos, when (A and) B were composed. In C she buries her dead husband. Though Trophimos is now long dead, the family grave is his house and temple, and Nonna speaks of herself as "daughter" of the master of the house.

D. "Ammia, wise daughter, why have you died already? Why such haste to die? what fate overtook you before we had decked you in your chamber with the bridal garland, that you should leave your native city and sorrowing parents. Your father and lady mother and all the city weep for you, for your youth and unwedded bloom. But her soul, the soul of Ammia that died, with voice upraised and hot flood of tears, Ammia whom the sting of death had taken, nine days after she died,* stood by her father and mother, speaking to them in their sleep of endurance of her death †: 'Do not weep, much suffering father, nor you, mother: there is one end which comes to all; the young ‡ . . .'"

* The writer had evidently intended to write λέξατο or some such word after θανοῦσα.

† This line is hopeless, but the meaning must be something such as I suggest, whether λεξ[αμ]ένη or δεξ[αμ]ένη . . . ἐπιτλημοσύνην is read, does not much matter.

‡ I take ἀώραν to be the beginning of a new sentence. The sense then would be: One end awaits all: if I died before my time, it is but an anticipation of the inevitable.

## II. EPITAPH OF AURELIOS MENANDROS FROM A STONE AT AKTCHE KEUI.

A. Middle. Between ll. 1 and 2 there is a "Garland, inside which a cross is neatly incised" (*R.*).

ἐνθάδε τύνβος ἔχι [Αὐρ. Μέν]ανδρον λίπε[ν ὃς φ]ά[ο]ς αἰελίοιο
τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ ζήσας τελειοτάτους ἐνιαυτούς
αἴλυθον [ἰ]ς Αἴδα τὸν ἀφένγεα χῶρον.
μαὶ γὰρ τὸ θανῖν ἀλγινὸν, τοῦτο πᾶσ[ι π]ρόκιται,
ἀλά με Πλουτεὺς ἥρπασε κουριδίης γαμετῆς Δημητριανῆς
ἧς ἱστοργὴν οὐδ' ἐν (ν)εκύεσι λαθοίμην,
κὲ γὰ(ρ) φίλαισέν με π[ό]σιν ἴσα Παινελοπή(η)ς,
ἦ λιπ[όμ]ην ἀταρβέα θρῆνον, ἀλὰ παῦση δάκρων
πολυπενθὰς ἐμῖο, ὃν μοῖρα γάμον διέλυσε τάχος.
κλαῦσέ με κασιγνήτη Ἀμμίας Τροφίμου ἥ μοι πέν[θ]η
ἀδ[ιν]ὰ Αἴδι συνέπενψεν.
[γ]α[νβρ]ὸς γὰρ ἐμὸς Τελέσφορος [κασιγ]νήτοιο Αμμίας πό[σις

1. ὅς, *F.*; ΛCIC, *A.*; \IIC, *R.* *A.* read λίπο[ν φ]ά[ο]ς.

4. ἐπει τόδε, the usual form of this tag, would give better metre and syntax. This is imitated from a line where μή was suitable, such as "Do not think death terrible, since it is the lot proposed for all men".

7. Παινελοπη(η)ς, *F.*

9. The construction of πολυπενθάς is curious for this author, "sorrowing in respect of me". Perhaps we ought to read πολυπενθάο, a possible genitive form. But the word appears to be cut on the stone in smaller letters, and as Trophimos does not affect acephalic verses it may have been inserted later without regard to the metre.

10. \ΑΔΛιΑ, *A.*; ἀδ[ιν]ά, *F.*; ἀ[ί]δ[ι]α, *R.* Ἀμμία(ς), see p. 272 n.

11. Taking γανβρός in the sense of brother-in-law.

In A. 11, [κασιγ]νήτοιο apparently means "sister" unless, as is barely possible, the word should be restored as a proper name, *i.e.*, that of Telesphoros' father by nature (by adoption Telesphoros was son of Trophimos).

B. Right.

ἠ]δὲ κὲ ἄλος γα[νβρὸς Α]σκληπᾶς ᾧ ἑτ[έραν
ἰδ]ίαν ἔδωκα θυ[γατέραν] Ἀμμίαν·

ὃς πενθε[ῖ] πένθιμα δῶρα ἃ μν[ή]μης χάριν ἔλαβον ὧδε.
κλαῦσε δέ με κὲ Φλῶρος πενθερὸς κὲ Ἀμμίας πενθερὰ
Ἰσκομαινοί,
ὧν κὲ τὰ τέκνα τὸν ἐμὸν πότμον ὠδύροντο,
ὧ]ν κὲ δῶρα λαβὼν ἰς Α[ἰδα]ο κομίζω,
ὃν δακρ[ύο]υσα πάτρη κατεθά[ψ]ατο πένθιμα θρηνήσαντες.
δῶρα πάτρης ἔλαβον κοσμήσια τύνβῳ ἀφενγ[ῆ.
ἀλλὰ τέκνα πατρὸς [μου] μνησθέντα γλυκύτη[τος,
Πατρίκις κὲ Ἀλέξανδρος κὲ Δημήτριος ὅν τε ναίπιον ἅσα,
πέντε δε θυγατέρες Τροφι(ν)μιανὴς κὲ [Ἀ]μμίας
κὲ Δόμνα κε Κύρι[λλ]α κὲ Αλεξανδρία,
οἳ κὲ τύνβον ἐμοὶ μνήμης χάριν ἵδρυσαν ἔνθα
μάρμαρον [ἱ]στήλην, οἶκον βίον ἐλπίδα ταύτην

1. γ[ανβρός, *F.*

4. Ισκομαινοί is an ethnic name, "natives of Iskome," a village whose name occurs also in an epitaph published by Prof. Ramsay in *J.H.S.*, 1884, p. 259,! *cf.* p. 188 of this volume.

8. TH *on stone before* τύνβῳ ἀφεν[γ]ῆ, *from end of line.*

9. [μου], *F.*

12. Κυριμά on the stone ; Κύρι[λλ]α, *R.* See footnote later, p. 150.

C. Left.

ὦ τὸ καλὸν φάος ὃ λίπον ἐν μερόπεσσιν,
ἐγὼ γὰρ κῖμαι πολυβένθεϊ τύνβῳ.
κάλλιπον ἐν φθιμένοις με, κὲ Ἀειδος οἶκια ναίων.
ἄπιθι, ἀναγνούς, διὰ βίου πράξας καλῶς,
κἀμοὶ συνεύχου τὴν κόνιν κουφὴν ἔχιν.
Αὐρ. Μένανδρος Καρικοῦ ἀπ' Ἐπιοικίο[υ] τὴν
θυγατέραν μου τὴ(ν) προγεγραμμέναι(ν)
Ἀμμίαν ἧς πόσις Ἀσκλ[η]πᾶ[ς.

A. Here the grave keeps Aurelios Menandros who has left the light of day. After having lived forty full years I went to the lightless land of Hades. Think not that to die is bitter—this is the fate of all—but Pluteus snatched me from my wedded wife,

Demetriane, whose affection I shall not forget even among the dead, for she loved me as the husband of Penelope * was loved. To her I left ceaseless lamentation, but rest from weeping in sorrow † for me whose ‡ wedlock fate dissolved so soon. My sister Ammias, Trophimos' daughter, wept for me and sent unceasing lamentation with me to the grave, and my brother-in-law Telesphoros, husband of my sister Ammia, §

B. and another son-in-law Asklepas, to whom I gave the other Ammia, my own daughter. His are those gifts of sorrow which I have thus received to be memorials of me. Florus too, my father-in-law and Ammias my mother-in-law, people of Iskome, lamented me ; their children too bewailed my death, and their gifts I take with me to Hades. My native city buried me with tears and woeful lamentations, and from my city I received gifts to deck my lightless tomb. But my children, mindful of their father's fondness—Patrikis and Alexandros and Demetrios whom I left an infant, and five daughters, Trophimianes and Ammias and Domna and Kyrilla and Alexandria, they erected here a monument too, this marble slab, in my memory, which is my home, my life, my hope. ‖

C. Ah for the fair light which I left among the living, for I lie in the depths of the grave. They left me among the dead and I dwell in the house of Hades. Read and go thy way prospering all through life and pray with me that the dust may lie light on me.

* *R.* compares a Christian inscription from the catacombs in Syracuse, restored by Bücheler in *Rh. Mus.*, 1896, p. 639.

Χρισιανῆς σεμνῆς ἀγανόφρονος [ἠδ]ὲ φιλάνδρων (*sic !*)
Ἀσ(σ)ιανῆς τύμβον εἰσορᾶς, φιλέ, κείμενον [ὧδε
ἥ]τις σεμνοσύνησιν [ἐρίζε]το Πηνελοπίῃ.

Chrisiana was a stranger from the Province Asia, perhaps from Phrygia.

† In the translation πολυπενθάς is taken with ἐμῖο dependent on it.

‡ This appears to be the sense : one would like to read οὗ μοῖρα γάμον.

§ Ammias, a by-form of Ammia. The two names, Ammias and Ammia, are used almost indifferently here and elsewhere (p. 272 ; Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 339.)

‖ Expansion of the common ὁ *βίος ταῦτα*, life is—this.

Aurelios Menandros son of Karikos from Epioikion (to) my above named daughter Ammia whose husband is Asklepas.*

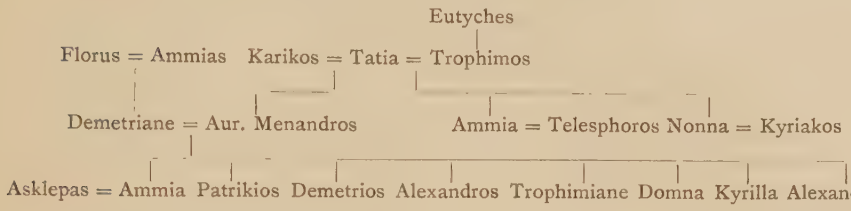
These two inscriptions are closely connected with one another. In inscription II. we notice that Aur. Menandros was son of Karikos and Tatia, but his sister Ammia was daughter of Trophimos. This implies that Tatia was twice married, first (as the other conditions show) to Karikos and afterwards to Trophimos. Ammia, the half-sister of Menandros was married to Telesphoros; she is therefore identical with Ammia in I., who also was daughter of Trophimos and wife of Telesphoros. Menandros in II. distinguishes this Ammia from his own daughter (*ἰδίαν*) Ammia, whom he gave in marriage to Asklepas.

In I. it is stated that Domna grand-daughter of Trophimos died at the age of fifteen; but in the subsequent account of his family, there is no room for her. Trophimos left two daughters, Ammia and Nonna. The latter was promised but not yet married to Kyriakos (*ἐφ' ἐλπίσι ταύτης*† *Νόννης γαμέτην συνζευχθῆναι θαλάμῳ*, II. B. 4 f.). Ammia and her husband Telesphoros commemorate their dead daughter Ammia, and make no mention of the dead Domna. Therefore Domna must have been grand-daughter of Trophimos through his marriage with Tatia, not directly through either of his own daughters Ammia or Nonna. We turn to II. then, and we find that Tatia and her first husband Karikos had a grand-daughter Domna, who must be the child brought up in the household of Menandros and treated by him as his grand-daughter.

The relationship of the various persons mentioned in these epitaphs is indicated in the following stemma :—

* The last sentence is a later addition, after the death of Ammia, Menander's daughter, who is described as still living in the beginning. Here, as in I. C., p. 142, the family grave is thought of as the house and home of Menander; and he though dead offers welcome to his daughter, when she comes to her father and to the divine nature in which he is merged. Compare II. B. 13 f.

† Probably for *ταύταις*, and not to be connected with *Νόννης*.




Menandros, evidently, died in middle age. While he left eight children, one son was an infant (II. B. 10), and a daughter Domna was also very young. Tatia, his mother, who had married again, took charge of Domna ; but the child died at the age of fifteen.

In II. B. 1 f., *ἑτέραν ἰδίαν θυγατέραν Ἀμμίαν* must be understood as a second Ammia, "my own daughter by nature," with an emphatic meaning of *ἰδίαν*, and not the mere weakened meaning which it often has in these Phrygian epitaphs (*meus*, or *suus*, according as the epitaph is expressed in the first or the third person).

It is noteworthy that Telesphoros, the *alumnus* (son by adoption and upbringing) of Trophimos, married Ammia, daughter by nature of Trophimos. The quasi-relationship between them was therefore not felt in Phrygian circles * to be a bar to marriage. Yet it is certain that in Phrygia there was a certain intimate family tie acknowledged between alumni and parents. This is proved by many inscriptions, which allow a place in the family grave, not merely to children but also to alumni. Still there is always a clear distinction drawn between children by nature and alumni ; and the latter certainly did not rank like adopted sons in Roman law as entirely on a level with sons by nature in respect of the marriage law. This agrees entirely with the Greek law ; and throws light on the obscure subject of the law of inheritance in the parts of Asia Minor which, after being long subject to the Seleucid rule, passed into Roman possession. Prof. Ramsay in his *Historical Commentary on the Epistle to the*

* These inscriptions are, indeed, Christian (as will be shown below) ; but it may be safely assumed that the ordinary custom of society would not be violated by the Christians at this period (third century).

*Galatians*, p. 340 f., has treated this difficult topic, and shown that the law of inheritance through adoption, which was assumed for purposes of illustration by St. Paul in Gal. iii. 6-9, was not the Roman law as it existed in his own time, but the Greek law (or rather Greek law as modified in the Seleucid Empire to adapt it to a Græco-Oriental population). He also points out that "in Athens the adopted son was permitted and encouraged to marry the daughter, thus saving the dowry which she would otherwise require," and keeping the property undivided in the family; and that in Asia Minor, "where some traces of succession in the female line persisted, it is highly probable that the same marriage custom prevailed, on the theory that the adopted son acquired the daughter's right of inheritance by marrying her". He could not give at that time any example to prove in actual fact that this marriage custom existed; but the inscriptions here published furnish the proof. Trophimos has no son by nature; therefore he adopted Telesphoros, and gave him his daughter Ammia in marriage.

An epitaph copied close to Bey-Sheher (Parlais) by the late Sir C. W. Wilson bears on the Anatolian law of inheritance, and may be given here for comparison.

Ἄννα Ἰούσ[τ]ης κλ[η]ρο[νό]μος καὶ [Βᾶ? καὶ
Νᾶ θυγατέρες τὴν ἑαυτῶν θρέψασ[αν Ἰ-
οῦστα[ν μ]νήμης χάριν.

The circumstances are here obscure. Justa had only one heiress, and two daughters who do not rank as heiresses. Either the word θυγατέρες is used here inaccurately in the sense of *alumnae* (which is highly improbable and in our opinion incredible), or θρέψασαν is used in the sense of "mother who herself nursed and tended them," which seems natural and in accordance with analogy, as θυγατέρες implies μητέραν.* Apparently, therefore, Justa had three daughters, and only one of these (presumably the eldest) was

* The reading of *R.* in I. A. 2, πατέραν [θρεπτ]ῆραν, corresponds closely to this use of θυγατέρες τὴν θρέψασαν.

heiress. When we remember that, in the primitive Anatolian custom of priestly families, it must necessarily have been the case that only one daughter could inherit the right of priestess, and transmit to a husband the right of priest and representative of the god, it seems quite possible and even probable that this should have become a universal principle of Anatolian custom, and that only one daughter was heiress. This would explain why only one son-in-law was adopted by Menandros: the wife of the other son-in-law was not an heiress-daughter according to the traditional Phrygian custom of daughter's inheritance.

Even if we admit this conjecture, it must certainly be understood that it was only the old Anatolian custom, and must probably have been regarded in Hellenised city-life as rather old-fashioned and non-Hellenic. Especially in regard to sons, it must be presumed that the Greek law of inheritance was observed in all those Hellenised Græco-Asiatic cities of Phrygia. No trace of any non-Hellenic system of inheritance for sons is known in the wide range of Phrygian epigraphy. It is, of course, quite natural that the old fashion should persist longer where the female right alone was concerned, *i.e.*, in cases where there were no sons to inherit. The ancient custom presumably was that all inheritance passed in the female line. When the inheritance of sons began, it was necessarily non-Phrygian, and was certainly adopted under Greek influence and of the Greek legal type. The inscriptions show, indisputably, that the usual and regular custom of inheritance in Phrygia in Græco-Roman times was according to Greek custom and law, though with certain slight modifications to adapt it to Anatolian or Oriental life. On these modifications see *Histor. Commentary on Galatians*, pp. 338 ff., 352 ff., 374.

The inscription from Bey-Sheher probably belongs to the Colonia Parlais (unless it was carried from a distance to the large town, which is quite possible); and in that case it shows that the Anatolian custom was sometimes retained even amid Roman surroundings. But Parlais was in close connection with the great Imperial estates

round Pisidian Antioch, on which old Phrygian custom was very strong ;* and all evidence suggests that it was not deeply affected by Græco-Roman civilisation. In the Tembris valley it is certain that Græco-Roman education exercised little power. These are the surroundings in which the survival of primitive Anatolian custom might naturally be expected.

The evidence suggests that something like the modern Armenian custom prevailed in the household of Menander and of Karikos. The father's house continued to be the home of the married children, or at least of the married sons. A married daughter went to her husband's family, but in order to keep an heiress-daughter in the family her prospective husband was adopted so that he and his wife should remain in the house, which was a large patriarchically ruled establishment. In such a household it is easy to see how the Phrygian usage (exemplified in many inscriptions) arose, that *νύμφη*, "bride," was practically equivalent to "daughter-in-law". The son's wives lived in the father-in-law's house and became part of his household.†

The Christian character of these two inscriptions is shown not merely by the symbol of the cross in II. but also by the names. Nonna, Kyriakos, Kyrilla,‡ are distinctively Christian : possibly one alone might not constitute an absolute proof, but merely afford a strong presumption : the conjunction of the three however in one family is conclusive. Several of the other names are, at least, favourite names among the Lycaonian and Phrygian Christians of the third and fourth centuries, though used also by pagans. The cross in itself could not be reckoned a conclusive proof, because, being incised, it might have been added later ; and it was probably added later

* See the paper on the Tekmorean Guest-friends in this volume.

† See the remarks on the subject in this volume, pp. 71, 373 f.

‡ Assuming the alteration made by *R.* in II. B. 12 ; he points out that the common form of M in the Phrygian and Lycaonian inscriptions of this period makes it very liable to be confused with ΛΛ, and that it is often impossible to say which was intended by the engraver. *Κύριλλα* is a very common name in those regions, but *Κύριμα* is unknown.

in the sense that it was not part of the ornament on the stone when it was purchased from the stone-worker, but was inserted after purchase to meet the wishes of the family of Menandros : see a similar example published in this volume (p. 83) by Miss Ramsay. The "teacher of sacred wisdom" (I. A. 16) was therefore a Church official; and this conclusion agrees with the facts in Lycaonia, stated by Prof. Ramsay in *Expositor*, Feb., 1906, p. 155.

## Language.

These epitaphs, it is obvious, are the work of people but half-acquainted with the language in which they wrote : such phrases as Πλουτέος οἶκια ναίων are probably modelled on Epic endings like τηλόθι ναίων imperfectly understood. And the use throughout of the classical terminology in referring to death makes it difficult to say how far the expression is of Christian origin. On the other hand, the epitaphs have some interest from the linguistic point of view. They exhibit strikingly the breaking down of the vowel system,* though doubtless among peasants who knew the language but very imperfectly, the process must have been more rapid and less regular than in the home country. The variations in the representations of the vowel sounds are the following :—

ῑ = ει : ἐμῖο, ἔχι, ἔχιν, θανῖν, κῖμαι, ἀλεγινόν, [β]αρῖσθη.
ει = ῐ : εἰδέσθην, Ἀείδος.
η = αι : χήρων, εἰδέσθην, ἰσορᾶτη, ταύτης, [β]αρῖσθη, παῦση.
αι = η : αἴλυθον, μαί, αἰδέ, φίλαισεν, ναίπιον, προγεγραμμέναι[ν], αἰελίοιο, Ισκομαινοί.
ι = οι : κινωνὸς.
ε = αι : κέ, *passim*.
η = ε : ἠν.

The chief point of interest is the equivalence of η and αι, which is contrary to what one would expect from the respective values of

* These inscriptions cannot be exactly dated, but cannot be later than the third century, A.D.

these signs in Modern Greek. The ordinary view about the pronunciation of η is that it was an open sound till about 350 B.C., when, it became close. After 500 A.D. it became identical in sound with ῑ. Traces of the open sound of η are found elsewhere in Pontine Greek, and it is evident that to the writers of the present epitaphs η, ε and αι must have been identical in sound. καί however is usually written καί or κέ, rarely κή.

Another point of interest is the development of a prothetic ι before στ, exactly parallel to the *i* which arose before similar consonant combinations in Late Latin, *e.g.*, iscelesta, ispeculator.

The ν which apparently can be added to nominal and verbal forms indiscriminately is difficult to explain. The case of ναίων for ναίω, as has been said above, may be due to confusion with the participle. Forms like εἰδέσθην (= ἰδέσθαι) may be analogous formations from the active ; while ψυχήν (nom.) and πατέραν, θυγατέραν, etc., one may suspect to be merely the devices of an unskilled but resourceful composer.

## Metre.

It is, perhaps, not safe to attach very much importance to peculiarities of versification in such compositions as the above. In the majority of the lines the dactylic rhythm is quite clearly marked, and though Perrot arranges, *e.g.* I. D, as partly elegiac, all the epitaphs are evidently intended to be hexametrical. Now, it is quite fair, I think, to assume that the very worst of composers, Trophimos the village schoolmaster, for example, would aim at correctness in the most prominent part of the hexameter, the last two feet ; and we shall find that in a large number of cases where, according to the rules of versification in the classical language, there is no semblance of hexameter or any other metre, the verses close very respectably indeed if we pronounce according to the accent, as in modern Greek. It may be observed that in the Scazons of Babrius, the verse always

has an accent on the penultimate syllable, and Nonnus never allows an hexameter to end with a proparoxyton word.*

The following are the principal instances of what appears to me to be the effect of accent on metre :—

1. Final : . . . Ἀσκληπᾶς ᾧ ἑτέραν
. . . ἔλαβον ὧδε
. . . διέλυσε τάχος
. . . ἑβδομαικονταέτης
. . . ὃν διὰ βίου
. . . ἰσκοτόεσα δὲ νύξ.
. . . πεντεδεκαέτης

2. Medial : κὲ γὰρ φίλαισέν με . . .
. . . μνημόσυνον ὄν . . .
Αὐρ. Τρόφιμος Εὐτύχους

3. Initial : λάβε τέλος θανάτοιο . . .

This appears to me to suggest that wretched as is the versification of the poor old Phrygian schoolmaster, it is not so wretched as it seems.

*Note.*—The accusatives πατέραν, etc., may very possibly be modelled on Phrygian forms. In the Phrygian language ᾱ is represented by *an* as in Ματεραν on the monument of Arslan-kaya (Ramsay, *J.H.S.*, 1884, 285 ; Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 218). Forms like θαλαμειν (dat.), τροκονδιν (gen.) indicate that final ν was a prominent element in Phrygian declension. On the other hand, Brugmann, *Griechische Grammatik*, § 255, suggests that forms like πατρίδαν θυγατέραν, etc., common on late inscriptions, as well as the Cyprian ἰ̯ατῆραν, Thessalian κίοναν and other similar formations, are simply modelled on the vowel stems. For other explanations see Bezzenberger, *B.B.*, 7, 74, and J. Schmidt, *K.Z.*, 27, 283.

* Blass, *Aussprache des Griech.*, § 34.

# V.

# EXPLORATIONS IN LYCAONIA AND ISAURIA, 1904.

T. CALLANDER, M.A.

# EXPLORATIONS IN LYCAONIA AND ISAURIA, 1904.

The inscriptions published below represent in part the results of journeys made in 1904 under the direction of Prof. Ramsay. The routes were planned in such a way as to supplement his own observations, and thus they form an episode in a prolonged study of central Asia Minor rather than a piece of independent research. Furthermore, both as a beginner in actual travel and in the editing of what follows, I am to be understood as having drawn very freely in every possible way upon the vast stores of special knowledge of which Prof. Ramsay is possessed, knowledge which is at the service of all workers in this field without grudge or stint.

## I. SAVATRA.

One result of the exploration in Lycaonia carried out in 1901 by Prof. Ramsay and Messrs. Cronin and Wathen was the determination of the site of Savatra (*cf.* Cronin, *J.H.S.*, 1902, p. 367 ff.). To meet the requirements of the case as inferred from the Geographers and the Notitiæ, a site had to be found on a Roman road somewhere in the district between Lake Tatta and Boz-Dagh, and a visit to Yali-Baiyat, a settlement on the eastern edge of Boz-Dagh, produced the conviction amounting to practical certainty that the modern Yaila here occupied the ground once covered by the ancient city of Savatra. The conclusions arrived at on the strength of evidence published by Mr. Cronin have been borne out by the finds of 1904. That a Roman road, the "Syrian Route," ran from Laodiceia Combusta by Savatra to Herakleia-Cybistra and the Cilician Gates, as was inferred

by Prof. Ramsay,* has now been proved by two milestones discovered along the route indicated: and stones inscribed with the name of Savatra have appeared.

On the 7th of June I left Konia for Yali-Baiyat with the object of searching for traces of the road which ought to run along the north side of the low range of hills called Boz-Dagh. My route was the same as that followed in 1901 on the return journey described by Mr. Cronin (*l.c.*). Yali-Baiyat was reached on the evening of the 7th, and next day I began to work along the east side of the range. The road from Yali-Baiyat led north round a rising ground to the east, then turned south-east and in forty-five minutes passed by some standing-stones in the vicinity of the village of Ennek. The following inscriptions were noticed at Ennek and Alsakli a village near, besides No. 1 at Yali-Baiyat. In many cases, where the lettering is rude and could only be reproduced properly in facsimile, it seems needless to give epigraphic text in type.

1. Yali-Baiyat.

Ἄρῃ Ἐπη-
κόῳ
Λεύκις
Γάττις Κορνη-
λιανὸς στρα-
τιώτης εὐ-
χήν

Lucius Gattius Cornelianus was the Latin name of this soldier. The worship of Ares is natural in a town where Roman influence was so strong as in Savatra on the important "Syrian Route". The epithet ἐπήκοος is frequent in Anatolia.

2. Ennek.

Ἰουλίαν
Μαῖσαν
Σεβαστὴν
Σαουατρέ-
ων ἡ βου-
λὴ καὶ ὁ
δῆμος

* See his arts. on "Roads and Travel in New Test. Times" in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, v., p. 390, and on "Lycaonia" in *Jahreshefte des Instit.*, Beiblatt, 1904, p. 101.

3. Alsakli.

Ταν̣ταλιανὸς Ταντά-
λου τῇ εἰδίᾳ γυναικὶ
μνήμης χάριν

Tantalos, Tantali filius, of Savatra is mentioned in *C.I.G.*, 4034 (Ramsay in *Jahreshefte*, 1904, Beib., 90 f.).

4. Ennek. On rectangular block in large letters.

Καίσ]αρι Θεῷ

5. Ennek. Small stele, roughly square section.

Διομή-
δης Ζή-
νωνι τ[ῷ]
γλυκυτά-
τῳ πατρὶ
μνήμης
χάριν

6. Ennek. Large stele. Fine lettering.

[τὸν δεῖνα καὶ Ἀλέ-
ξ]ανδρον τοὺς Ἀλε-
ξάνδρου παῖ[δ]-
ας παναρέ[τ-
ους Σαο]υα-
[τρέων ἡ β]ου-
[λὴ καὶ] ὁ δῆ-
μ[ο]ς ἐτίμη-
σεν

7. Alsakli. Marble stele. Good work.

Eagle.

Μ. Οὐέττιος Νίγερ
Τερτίᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ
[φ]ιλοστοργίας καὶ
[ε]ὐνοίας ἕνεκεν

8. Ennek.

Αὐρήλιος Σα-
βῖνος γλυκυ-
τάτῳ ἀδελφ-
[ῷ] Διογένη
μ]νήμης χά[ρι-
ν ἐποίησεν [καὶ
ἑαυτῇ [καὶ τῷ
γλυκυτάτ-
ῳ υἱῷ Μενε-
δήμῳ μνήμ-
ης χάριν [ἐπ-
ο]ί[η]σε[ν]

9. Ennek. Built into doorway of hut.

Διαδούμε-
νος ἑαυτῷ καὶ
Ἡλιάδι τῇ συνβ[ί-
ῳ τὸν βωμὸν
καὶ τὴν στήλην
καὶ τὰ πέλτα· καὶ
ἐνορκῶ τρὶς θ[εοὺς]
Μῆνας ἀνεπιλύ[τως]
μηδένα ἕτερον ἐ-
πεισενεχθῆναι ἢ
μόνην Ἀρτεμεισίαν τὴν
ἐμὴν

We should probably not read τρῖς for τρεῖς, but should rather understand that Men Ouranios and Katachthonios are thrice adjured (see below, No. 30) and thus are bound indissolubly. ἀνεπίλυτος is quoted only from Galen as compounded with the prep. ἀνά. Here it is a negative compound. A word (θυγατέρα?) seems omitted at the end.

10. Ennek.

Imp. Caes. et M. Jul.
M. Julius Philippus
Philippus Caesar
P. f. Aug. filius eius

11. Another milestone with obliterated inscription was copied by Prof. Ramsay at Ennek in the cemetery : see No. 58.

IOP
VCIVM
RV CM
UM
R

12. Alsakli. Long stele thrown across well.

Πατηρᾶς πρεσβύτε-
ρος ἐκ(ι) διαδοχῆς
πατρικῆς ὁμίως
κὲ αὐτὸς υἱὸς πρεσβ-
ύτερος Πατηρᾶς καὶ ἡ
γ]υνὴ Ἀφφία
ἔστησε τῷ
[ἀνδρὶ γλυκυ-]
τάτῳ ἔνεχεν
[μνήμης] χάριν

ὁμίως with ι for οι. Patéras is a remarkable name, not in Pape-Benseler. A son succeeds his father as presbyter ; but the Greek is rather mixed up, and the son twice calls himself a presbyter.

13. Ennek. Large stele in hut.

Χ(ριστο)ῦ Θεράπων Πα[ῦ]λος ἐν τῷδε τύμβῳ κατάκι[μ]ε σῆμα δέ μοι τεῦξεν ἠίθεος κασιγνή[τη] Μαρία μνήμης εἵνεκα [σ]εμνῆς οἴῳ κασιγνήτῳ

Paul was buried by his young sister Maria—an only brother.

14. Alsakli. Rough stone.

Τάτα Νέστορος ἀνέστησεν ὑιῷ Νέστορι μνήμη-ς χάριν

15. Alsakli. Square stele.

Ἥσυχος Ὀλβίου π[οῦ καὶ Δορυμένους Ἡσύχῳ τῷ ὑιῷ ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ καὶ φίλῳ φί-λων προμοίρως ἀποθανόντι τείμης καὶ μνήμης χάριν

16. Alsakli. On architrave block.

Κύριε βοήθι τῷ ὄνκῳ τού[τῳ

cross in circle

17. Ennek.

[ἐ]νθάδε δὴ [κ]ατάκειτε Ὀρέστης ἴλαος ἀνὴ[ρ] ζωὸς γὰ[ρ] ὢν πολυφ[ίλτ-ατος ἦεν ἀν ναθ[ρ]ώποις . . . . . φιλτάτη Ἡράκλ[εια] ἐξῆς ταῦτ' ἐπέγραψεν μν[ήμης χάριν τελέσασα

ἀν ναθρώποις seems to be a local rendering of ἐν ἀνθρώποις.

## II. KANNA OR KANA.

The site of the obscure Lycaonian town, Kanna, a bishopric in Byzantine time, was placed by Prof. Ramsay in his study of Lycaonia (*Jahreshefte des Inst.*, 1904, Bbl., p. 101) "on some road leading from Koropassos or from Laodiceia Katakekaumene, so that it should fall

near Hyde. The Notitiæ always mention it immediately after Savatra, while Hierokles has the order Savatra Perta Kanna. These conditions are satisfied by any site in the district between Savatra, Perta, and Hyde." In accordance with these indications we found in the village of Genne on the road between Savatra and Hyde (now Kara-Bunar) the following inscriptions, which prove that a city Kana was situated there, and that the modern name preserves the ancient name. The inscriptions have the form Kana, but several of the Byzantine authorities give Kanna in agreement with the modern pronunciation.* Travelling by different routes from Konia, Prof. Ramsay and I met there by agreement.

18. Genne. Copied by Prof. Ramsay and myself in company. The text is complete and certain.

Αυτοκράτορι Νέρο[υᾳ]
Τραιανῷ Καίσαρι Σεβ[ασ]-
τῷ Γέρμανικῷ Δακι-
κῷ, πατρὶ πατρίδος, δη-
μαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα
[Κ]ανέων βουλὴ δῆμος ἐπὶ
[τ]ῆς ἡγεμονίας Ποπλίου
Καλουισίου Ῥούσωνος Ἰου-
λίου Φροντείνου

Perhaps the intention was to end with the form ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως (though no letters were ever engraved) : in that case Julius Frontinus would be the official of Kanna who was charged with the erection of the monument, and a stop would be needed after Ῥούσωνος. If, however, as is most probable, the text has been correctly engraved, Julius Frontinus must be part of the name of P. Calvisius Ruso, who is known to have been governor of the two Provinces Galatia and Cappadocia, A.D. 106 and 107. His father, P. Calvisius Ruso, was Proconsul of Asia under Domitian, and his mother may have been named Julia Frontina, perhaps a daughter of the famous S. Julius Frontinus. The name Calvisius passed into Galatian personal nomenclature, as Prof. Ramsay has pointed out at Laodiceia Combusta (*Classical Review*, 1905, p. 369).

* Kana Not. III., Kanna X., Kaina XIII., Kanos I., VII., Kannos VIII., IX.

19. Genne. Copied by Miss Ramsay and also by Prof. Ramsay.

Αὐτοκρ- Κανέων
άτορα Καίσαρα ἡ βουλὴ
Μ. Αὐρ. Πρόβον καὶ ὁ δῆμος
Σεβαστόν

Dedications to Probus are rare. One with the name imperfectly erased was copied at Comana of Cappadocia by Prof. Ramsay in 1882.

20. Genne Tchiftlik.

'Αθην[ί- τησε-
ων [μνῆ- ν μν[ή-
μα π[α- μης χά-
τρὸς 9 ριν
5 ἀνέσ-

Perhaps γ΄ may be read after 'Αθηνίων, meaning "son and grandson of Athenion".

21. Genne Tchiftlik.

συν τοι Χριστοῦ
σ παγε Θεράπον-
κασίγνη- τες ἔτευξα[ν

22. Genne. Limestone, badly weathered.

ὅροι τοῦ Ιοδοτερος
ἁγίου καὶ Θύρσου
ἐνδόξου

The reading in l. 4 is hopeless.

## III. SIDAMARIA.

The name of the ruins at Ambar-arasi or Serpek (both names are used) was discovered by Prof. Ramsay from an inscription published by him in the *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1901, p. 279.* He pointed out that in this very rudely engraved inscription it is diffi-

* The lines are wrongly divided in the printed text: the arrangement in his letter (which was published as an article) was wrongly taken by the printer as corresponding to the epigraphic lines, and the author saw no proof.

cult to decide with certainty, whether the first letter is C or Є, the third Δ or Λ, the fifth ΛΛ or Λ Λ ; but the above form is the most probable reading, and since then, in the *Jahreshefte*, Beiblatt, 1904, p. 88, he pointed out analogies confirming this. A few miles west of Ambar-arasi is Kale Keui, with important ruins on a hill. These two sites may be classed together.

23. Kale Keui. Heavy stone 6 ft. × 2 × 1 used as doorstep.

'Α]θηνα[ῖος καὶ Νει-
κομήδης υἱο[ὶ] Νεικά-
νορος Νεικάνορα
'Αθηναίου τὸν ἑαυτῶν
πατέρα καὶ Τάττιν Τα-
τέου[ς] γ΄ Νεικομήδους
τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν
οἱ κτίσαντες τὸν τά-
φον εὐνοίας ἕνεκεν
ἐνορκίζω δὲ Μή-
νας τόν τε Οὐράνι-
ον καὶ τοὺς Κατα-
χθονίους μὴ ἐξ[εῖ]-
ναί τινι πωλῆσαι
τὸ περίβολον τοῦ
τά[φ]ου μήτε ἀγορά-
ζειν ἐκτὸ[ς] το[ῦ]
[ἀδελφοῦ?]

It is possible that Katachthonian Men is here interpreted as a pair of gods (like the two Nemeseis of Smyrna, in contrast to the ordinary single Nemesis) ; in that case there would be three Mens, as perhaps in No. 9 above. But it seems better to understand the Mens here as a vague plural conception, "the gods of the underworld," and to read τρίς, not τρ(ϵ)ῖς, in No. 9. The conception of Men as the god of the world of death is strongly confirmative of Prof. Ramsay's opinion that the resemblance to the Greek word μήν was purely accidental, that the identification of him with the Moon-god was an error made under Greek influence, and that the name Men is an Anatolian word, perhaps connected with Manes, the name of a deity at Akmonia.*

24. Ambararassi. Under hearth in house.

ἡ δεῖνα ἀνέστησε]ν τὸν ἑα[υτῆς ἄνδρα?,
Δημήτριος?] δὲ τὸν ἑαυ[τοῦ πατέρα
Δημήτριον? τὸ]ν ἱερέα τῆς ['Αθηνᾶς?

* *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii., p. 626.

25. Kale Keui. Inscribed on rock on south side of Acropolis.

† Κ[ύρι]ε βοήθι Θεοδ[ώ]ρου

26. Ambararassi.

ἐνθάδε] κατά-
κιτε Αὐρισ-
κὸς διάκονος

υἱὸς Κόνων[ος
πρεσβυτέρ(ου)

27. Ambararassi. In garden wall, at gate.

ϵNΘAKAT|άκειται
OΛAMΠP(|τατος
KOMS ΠA|υλεῖνος

28. Ambararassi. On large hexagonal block.

κύριε, βOHΘI TOT EPΓολάβου

## IV. AN EXCURSION IN ISAURIA.

On the 28th of May, Prof. Ramsay's party returned to Konia, with a goodly collection of inscriptions from the village of Dorla, the modern representative of the ancient Nea Isaura.* It fell to me to journey farther afield into the mountainous country on the south and west, attracted by reports of written stones in Ala-Dagh. An hour and a half by araba, at first along the bed of the Dorla river and then by a track pointing south-west, brought us to a small village called Jijek, where some inscriptions were shown in the Mosque. Two hours and a half after leaving Jijek a cistern built of hewn stones, some of them inscribed, was passed on the wayside. Sari-Oghlan-Bunari (Yellow-Boy-Spring) was but the prelude to Sari-Oghlan, a likely site about a mile farther on. The village, however, contained nothing of interest, and we resumed our journey over rough ground to Hamzalar where we spent the night. Next day we took horse for Ala-Dagh and in two hours came to the ridge which divides the Hamzalar side of the hill from the Calycadnus valley, the water-

* See pp. 22 ff.

shed between the central plains and the coast valleys of Asia Minor, one of the lowest passes over the Taurus ridge. Here we came (Djeulessi Jailasi) to the "pretentious" monument described by Sterrett,* now utterly wrecked. After copying the inscriptions on the large stone and the base of the lion statue we went ahead through the village of Eshenler, the mud huts of which at a distance reminded me of a collection of huge swallows' nests plastered on the side of a hill. At that point we turned sharply up a steep bridle path round the end of the topmost ridge of Ala-Dagh ; then after a short descent we scrambled on foot along the slope of the Calycadnus valley. Half an hour later a fragment of a lion came in sight along with various cut stones, and round a knoll the débris of a church and part of yet another lion statue, making the fourth that day. On the opposite side of the cleft from which the church protruded we came on the remains of a second church used at the present day as a quarry. Some of the stones were clearly *in situ*, and very little digging would have turned up a number of stones inaccessible at the moment. There was barely time to copy the few exposed stones before we had to retrace our steps to Hamzalar and thence to Konia. Our main purpose—to report as to the epigraphic prospects suggested by the accounts carried to Konia—was fulfilled. This rugged part of the Calycadnus valley abounds in remains of ancient life and in inscriptions of the late Roman time. But the inscriptions are of the smallest interest, and only in a large collection, through the observation of collective results, do they promise to reward the labour of copying.

30. Jijek. In the Mosque.

Αὖλος
Ῥοῦ[φ]ος κ[ὲ] γυν-
ή

31. Jijek. In the Mosque.

Ταράσις — νῳ υἱῷ
Λονγεί- — μ(νήμης) χ(άριν)

* *Wolfe Expedition*, p. 91.

32. Jijek. In the Mosque.

Αὐρ. [No]ῦννος ἀ- πᾶν ἀδελφὸ[ν]
νέστησεν Ἀπ- μ(νήμης) χ(άριν)
sickle

Nounnos, p. 60, fem. Nonna, pp. 129, 139.

33. At Jijek. In the Mosque.

[Παπ?]ίας ἀ[ν]ἐ[στη]-
σεν Παπ[ίαν]
τὸν πατέρα
double pickaxe and sickle

34. Jijek. In the Mosque. Rough stone.

Πασίων ἐκόσμησεν
τὸν ἀδελπὸν αὐτοῦ

π for φ is common in Pisidia and the central regions generally of Anatolia.

35. Jijek. In Mosque. Very rough.

ΤΡΟΚΟΝΔαC

36. Jijek. In Mosque. Poor stone.

[Οὐά]ναλις [ἐκόσ]μησ[ε]
Πα]πίαν τὸν ἄνδρα
pickaxe and pruning hook

37. Jijek.

Αυρηλία Κύρ[ι]λ[λα 'Ολυμπᾶν μνήμης
τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆ[ς] χάριν
sickle and pickaxe

38. Jijek. In Mosque.

Αὖλος καὶ Τα[ρ]- [τ]έρα αὐτῶν
άσις ἐκόσμη- μ(νήμης) χ(άριν)
σαν τὴν μη-

39. Jijek. In house. Rough stone.

ΚΟΔΡΑΤΟC

40. Jijek. In the Mosque. The stone, broken right and left,

is carved to show a series of columns supporting a sort of frieze which carries the inscription. Illustration, p. 20.

[ὁ δεῖνα ἐκόσμ]ησεν τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ [Ῥο?]δό[πην?] μ. χ.

41. Jijek. In the Mosque.

ξ]α[·]έας ἐκόσ(μησεν) Οὐάναλιν ἀδελφήν

42. Sari-Oghlan-Bunari.

[ὁ δεῖνα] καὶ Κούλα [ἡ] σύ[μ]βιος αὐτοῦ : or Κουλαν[ὶ]ς (σ)ύμβιος.

43. Sari-Oghlan-Bunari. Illustration, p. 20.

Αὐρ. Ἄννις καὶ Κί- τὴν μαμμ[η]ν Αὐρ. Σιμ[
σουνις καὶ Γίρους ἀνέσ[τ- μ. χ.
-η]σαν τὸν πάππον Τᾶν καὶ

Αὔραννις is perhaps not an impossible reading ; but Ἄννις for Ἄννιος is more probable.

44. Sari-Oghlan-Bunari. Illustration, p. 19.

Δαίδαλος Ζευδᾶ ἀνέστησεν
Ζευδᾶν πατέρα αὐτοῦ

Zeuda is probably Isaurian for Θευδᾶ.

45. At Hamzalar.

Αὐ[ρ]ή[λ]ία Νά[ν]α Κασ[σ]ί[ου θυγ- σεν Μ[ν]νέα[ν τ]ὸ[ν
άτηρ ἀν[έ]σ[τη- υἱὸν αὐτῆς

46. Hamzalar. Illustration, p 21.

Ταρά?]σις ἀνέστησεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ

47. Hamzalar.

Λεω[ν]ίδ[ης ἀνέστη-
σεν τὴ[ν
μ. [χ.

48. Hamzalar.

Μούτου ἀνέστησεν [ ]ηνεσον
τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ

The son's name wants only one or two letters, but seems unique.

49. Eshenler Baghlari.

Καὶ Ἰμσαν κὲ Μουσέαν κὲ Οὐνδὶν κὲ Ἰνδοῦν κὲ Θήρα[ν]
κὲ Ἰδοῦν κὲ Νάνναν κε Τέβειν κὲ Μιδώταν το[ὺς]
ἰδίους πάντας εὐνοίας καὶ τείμης
μνήμης χάριν

The list of Isaurian names is remarkable.

50. Eshenler Baghlari.

[ὁ δεῖνα ἐκόσμησεν τὸν δεῖνα]
τὸν ἴ[διον υἱὸν? or [γλυκύτατον υἱὸν
αὐτοῦ καὶ [τὸν δεῖνα ἀδελφ-
ὸν α[ὐτ]οῦ καὶ [Αὐρ.— πα-
τέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ [Αὐρ. Ὀλυμ-?
πᾶν Τροκόνδα [θεῖον? αὐτοῦ

51. Eshenler Baghlari.

B. Αὐρ. Ἀππᾶς Γαΐου
τεχνείτης Πορινδεὺς ἀπήρτισεν κατὰ τὴν ἀπέγδοσιν

C. ἐπανέστησεν Ἡρακλείδης καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ

Πορινδεύς is probably a shorter form of the ethnic Παπορινδεύς, in Sterrett's *Wolfe Exped.*, No. 69 (on which see Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr.*, p. 382: Sterrett alters his reading to Παπποροvδεύς). Compare Salouda and Salsalouda, Pasa and Paspasa (*Hist. Geogr.*, p. 451).

Part A of this inscription, now lost, told that Heracleides made the tomb (for himself?). Part B is the artist's signature. Then Heracleides as an afterthought honoured his parents also, who perhaps died in the interval between A and C. ἀπέγδοσις must be a variant of ἔκδοσις in the sense of contract, Lat. *locatio*. See p. 92.

52. Eshenler Baghlari.

Κακκᾶς Οὐαλε-
ρίου Μακ(ακ)εδό-
ν[ο]ς θυγάτηρ ἐνέσ-
τησεν αὐτὴν ὁ πατ-
ὴρ [καὶ] Λαλᾶς μήτ[ηρ]

Here we have faults of engraver for Μακεδόνος ἀνέστησεν.

53. Eshenler Baghlari.

| | |
|---|---|
| Λαρουμα- | καὶ Σατεῖ- |
| δέων ἡ κώ- | -ραν Καν- |
| μη ἔστησαν τεί- | δίδ]ου εὐεργε- |
| μην Ἰττέα Τέβει | σίας ἕνεκεν |

Rude figures of man and woman.

Σατεῖραν perhaps for Σωτῆραν (on the form see pp. 132, 224). Itteus was son of Tebeis. The double accusative with ἔστησαν may be compared with the same construction after κοσμέω, see p. 278.

54. Eshenler Baghlari.

| | |
|---|---|
| [Λαρουμ]- | σιος τείμης |
| αδέων | καὶ εὐεργε- |
| ἡ κώμη Ἰν- | σίας |
| γαν Ἀπινή- | |

Perhaps ἕνεκεν or χάριν is lost at the end; but neither is necessary. Ἰνγᾶν is either a dialectic variety, or a fault of copy, for Ἰνδᾶν or Ἰνζᾶν.

## V. SALARAMA.

This was a village of the Iconian territory on the road from Iconium to Archelais Colonia and Cæsareia Mazaka, in the plain before the road begins to ascend the ridge of Boz-Dagh. On the name see Mr. Cronin in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1902, p. 368, and Prof. Ramsay in *Expositor*, 1905, ii., p. 292 ff. An old Turkish Khan called Kutu-Delik-Khan or Dibi-Delik-Khan * is built largely of ancient cut stones. Half a mile from it is a poor modern Khan, built between 1901 and 1904, called Ak-Bash-Khan.

* Wrongly called Djindjirli-Khan by M. G. Cousin, *Kyros le Jeune en Asie Min.*, p. 401. The mistake is often made even by muleteers, who have recently begun to travel anew on this long-deserted route. Sindjirli-Khan is a few miles south.

55. Kutu-Delik-Khan : copied by Prof. Ramsay.

Γάιος Ἀπώνιος Φίρμος στρατευσ[άμενος δ-
εκαδάρχης εἴλης Κολώνων καὶ ὀ]πτίων τὸ μν-
ημεῖον ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ Φλ[αουίᾳ Οὐισε-
λλίᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ μόνῃ ἐφ' ᾧ μενεῖ προγον-
ικόν, μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐξὸν ἦτω εἰσενέγκεῖν [πλὴν τῷ
Ἀπωνίῳ καὶ τῇ Οὐισελλίᾳ τὸν δὲ · ΛΤΙ · οἶκο[ν ἔσεσ-
θαι ὧν ἂν διατάξωμαι λείψανα κατὰ δια[θήκην

This inscription has been published very incompletely and without transcription by M. G. Cousin, *Kyros le Jeune en Asie Min.*, 1905, p. 403. The stone on which it is engraved is a very large block of fine limestone, quite complete, which must have formed part of a great mausoleum. The inscription was continued on an adjoining block on the right.

The family of C. Aponius Firmus belonged to this village of Iconium, and the gravestone of Aponius Crispus,* who was duumvir of the Colonia Iconium somewhere about A.D. 135-170, has been carried some miles south across the plain to another old Khan, called Sindjirli. This family evidently possessed property and wealth in this corner of the Iconian territory ; and it is interesting to observe how such landed proprietors of the old Iconian population became thoroughly Hellenised, speaking Greek, but bearing Roman names, and engaged in the military service of Rome and the municipal service of Iconium. The history of the family is treated by Prof. Ramsay, *Expositor*, Oct., 1905, p. 294.

The Ala Colonorum was in the Cappadocian army, as Arrian mentions (*Ect.* 1) : its full name was Ala I. Augusta Gemina Colonorum, and it was still stationed on the eastern frontier at Chiaca in Armenia in the fifth century (according to the *Not. Dign. Or.*).

* Sterrett, *Epigr. Journ.*, p. 226 : Cronin in *J.H.S.*, 1902, p. 369, No. 142. Spelt here Apponius : this epitaph also is in Greek, not in Latin. Sterrett does not restore the title δ[*υανδρικός*] ; Cronin hesitates between it and several others ; but the restoration is safe.

A stone at Perga mentions L. Rutilius Varus, ὁ[πτ]ίων εἴλης α΄ κολ-ώνων (*C.I.G.*, 4342 *b*).

56. Kutu-Delik-Khan : copied by Prof. Ramsay, and published by him in *Classical Review*, 1905, p. 416.

L. S]eve. Pius Perti[nax
A]ug. Arab. Adiab. Par-
thicus Maxi. Pont-
ifex Maximus Tribu-
n]icia potestatis VI Imp.
XI Cos pr. pr. procos : et
Imp. Cae. M. Aur. Anto-
ni. Aug. Cons. Parthic
max. [r]e[s]titueru[nt] per
C. Atticium S]trabonem le[g.
Aug. p]r. pr. milei[a] pass.

I repeat the text for comparison with No. 58 below : see the annotation there. On the peculiarities of this milestone, which is extremely rudely and ignorantly composed, see *Classical Review*, 1905, p. 415. It has been published in an inaccurate copy by M. G. Cousin, *Kyros le Jeune*, p. 402, the last lines being there presented in an unintelligible and defective form. The name of Geta has been erased in lines 8 f., and Cons. Parthic. Max. inserted instead. Prof. Ramsay asks me to correct one misapprehension in his publication. In his transcription he took the letters ΛVC in line 8 for the last three letters of the name Antoninus (very rudely engraved, like the rest of the inscription), but they are really for AVG, as the epigraphic copy given there shows clearly.

## VI. PSEBILA OR PSIBELA, NOW SEUEREK.

On this identification see Prof. Ramsay's article in this volume, p. 248, also in *Jahreshefte*, Beiblatt, 1904, p. 94.

57. Seuerek. Revised and confirmed by Ramsay in 1906.

Διὶ ΦιΛΛΑΠΟΥ  Μνησιθέου
[ ]καν  εὐχήν

Bust.

Understanding that, as frequently in these inscriptions, O and Θ are interchangeable, we may conjecture perhaps Φιλ[α]λ[ή]θυ for Φιλαλήθει ; but this is not on the stone.

58. Seuerek. Copied also by Prof. Ramsay in 1905.

restituerunt per C.
Atticium Strabonem leg.
Aug. Pr. Pr. Mil. Passu.
P E

C. Atticius Strabo, who governed Galatia in A.D. 198, is known from three milestones of the Province, one found between Apollonia and Apameia in Phrygia, one in the territory of Iconium, and this at Psebila, which alone gives the name distinctly : see No. 56 above and Prof. Ramsay in *Classical Review*, 1905, p. 416, and in his paper in this volume, p. 234. T. Atticius Strabo Romulus, *clarissimus puer*, mentioned in an inscription of Capena (*C.I.L.*, xi., 3882),* must have belonged to the same family. This inscription may be restored in accordance with No. 56. It is possible that [Atti]cius should be restored in the milestone of Savatra, No. 10.

The number is probably to be read P E, but the P is very badly formed. The number of miles must be the distance from Ancyra, the *caput viarum* for the Province. At Psebila the road from Ancyra to Iconium intersected the roads from Cæsareia Mazaka and from Syria and Cilicia to Ephesus. The real distance from Ancyra to Suwarek corresponds fairly well to the number ; but certainty as to the exact measure is not possible, because the milestone may have been carried to the cemetery from its original site, which may have been at some distance. Still there is some probability that the milestones here formed a group close to this important road-knot.

59-61. Three other milestones were copied in the cemetery at Seuerek by Prof. Ramsay in 1905. Two are in a very fragmentary condition.

* In *Prosopographia Imp. Rom.*, i., p. 178, No. 1114, the boy is wrongly called Atticus : in the inscription the genitive form Attici is used from the gentile name Atticius, not from the cognomen Atticus.

P

DIVIV

is the earliest of all, as is shown both by the finer form of the letters and by the name Divi V[eri filius or nepos].

Another belongs to the early fourth century between A.D. 308 and 337.

COCTANTINO AUC ET

ET

The third bears the names, rare in epigraphy, of Carus, Carinus, and Numerian.

Imp. C. M. Aur. Caro
P. F. Invicto Aug.
et M. Aur Carino
Several lines blank
or erased
et Nomeriano
IU OIIΓ

In the last line perhaps M.[P. I]II Γ

The inscription was incised while Carinus was Cæsar and Carus was still alive, in the end of 282 or the first half of 283 A.D. The name of Numerian was doubtless added in the lost lines ; but, when the death of Carus in Persia and the accession of Carinus and Numerian became known, a second inscription was added to Carinus and Numerian as Augusti. Of this second inscription we possess only one line. The number of miles (expressed both in Latin and in Greek) which had been engraved previously left no room for the titles of Numerian. A few days later news reached Psibela that Numerian was dead. Two years later, after Carinus gave place to Diocletian, a partial erasure of the names was made. The letters that remain are very faint.

62. Seuerek. In Khan (also copied R. 1906).

Νεστόριος πρεσβύτερο-
ς ἐνθάδε κῖτε, ἀστὴ-
ρ ὃς ἐνέλαμπεν ἐν Δ]ιομήδης ἐν-
ἐκλησίεσιν θεοῖο θά[δ]ε κῖτ[ε]

PLATE VIII.

Door of Byzantine Church, Dagh-Euren (T. Callander).

*To face page 174.*

63. Seuerek. In Well (also R. 1905).

ἀρητὴρ ἐσθλὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ κὶ-
τε ἐνθάδε παίδων ἄρεσ-
τος καὶ θεοῦ φιλήκο-
ος πραΰς ὃς [πραΰστος?] πάντων
καὶ τοὔνομα Ἀνίκητος

εἰερεὺς ὢν ἰδιοπραέω-
ν φιλόθεος φιλέννο-
μος ὀπάων Χριστοῦ,
ἐγλεκτὸς δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ.
τύνβον δὲ τοῦτου τέκνα

There are difficulties in this and the following Christian texts which I cannot solve. All are poorly engraved and difficult to decipher.

64. Seuerek. In Djami (also R. 1906).

Τ]ύμβον Γενναδείου πατὴρ καὶ
πότνια μήτηρ
ἐξετέλεσσαν ὃ γὰρ γέ-
νος πάτρην τ' ἀκάχησεν
ποιμέν' ὄντα πο[θεε]ινὸ[ν

ροτραφ ταρ ἀνέτλη
οἴκτιστον θν[ή]σκων καὶ
δυσμενέων ἀνοσ(ε)ίων
ἤπιος ὢν ἑταίων μιννυθά-
δειος δ' ἐτελεύτα

5. ΤΕ ΠΟC C C INOI, *R.*
6. ΦC · ΗΝΓΑ, *R.*

65. Seuerek. In house. Probably of third century (not, at latest, after 350). Published with illustration, according to copy of *R.* 1905, above p. 89.

66. Seuerek. Fragment of pillar in house.

γ]αῖα Γερόντιον
ἥδε χυτὴ χάδεν,
ὃς περὶ πάντας
ἀνθρώπους με-
μέλητο θεοῦ χά-

ριτ[ο]ς ἐπὶ γαίης
ζωὸς ἐὼν νῦν αὖ
θάνατος καὶ [μ]οῖ-
ρα κίχανε

67. Seuerek. Stele in house; worn at edges and letters poor.

ΑΥ ΛΟΥ-
ΠΙΚΗΝΟC
ΝΕΟΦΩΤΙC-

ΤΟC ΦΙΛΑ
ΓΡΙΟΥ ΜΗτρὶ
ΚΑΛΛΗC ΤΗ

Aur. Lupicenus was a newly baptised Christian; the epithet was in common use in the third and fourth centuries. Was Philagrius his father, or the bishop who baptised him? Kalliste his mother.

## VII. BARDAKOME OR BARDA-ÉTTA.

On the name see Prof. Ramsay's article in this volume, p. 251.

68. Dedeler. In Djami (R. 1905). A great block of stone: large letters, very much defaced.

Αὐρ. Φιλήμων καὶ Ρ[ουφεῖ-
νος] ἀδελφοὶ πατρὶ [Αὐρ. . . . .
πρεσβυτέρῳ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐ-
τῶν] γλυκυτάτῃ [Κ]ασσίᾳ καὶ Τει-
μοθ]έῳ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ἀδελφῷ Παπ-
ᾷ σ]τρατευσαμένῳ καὶ [Λ-
ε]ον[τ]ία Λε[ο]ντικοῦ ἡ νύν-
φη Παπᾶ καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ θυ-
γα]τρὶ αὐτῆς Κ[α]σσίᾳ
μνήμης ἕνεκεν

69. Dedeler. In Djami (R. 1905).

ἀνέρα κυδάλιμον ἀγανόφρονος ἠδ' ἀγαθοῖο
ὀλβίου πατέρος γαίης τ' ἐριβώλου ἀρούρης
σῆμα τόδε κεύθει φιλίῃ ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ
Οὐαρελιανὸν κλυτὸν ἄνδρα βροτῶν ἀγαθῶν τε τοκήων,
εἰερέων ὄχ' ἄριστον ἐῆς ἐνὶ πατρίδι γαίῃ
τοὔνεκα οἱ τόδε σῆμα ἓη θυγάτηρ καὶ ἄκοιτις
ἔστησαν μνήμης ἐπιτύμβιον ἐκτελέσαντες
γαμβρὸς δ' ἤτοι (or δή τοι) πάντα τελέσσατο, ἢ τάχα πάντες,
Ἀφθόνιος ᾧ τοκέει γλυκερῷ ἀμοιβῆς δῶρα
τελέσσας

Ἀφθόνιος was the son-in-law. ἐῆς, 5, for ἐῇ to avoid hiatus.

70. Dedeler. Small stone in house.

Πούβλιος
Πουβλίου

[ὁσ]ίῳ * θε-
ῷ εὐχήν

* ὁσ-, in copy Θε.

The correction ὁσίῳ seems almost necessary: the epithet is common in Anatolian religious epigraphy. O and C are often read instead of Θ and ϵ: here the case is *vice versâ*. θείῳ θεῷ is improbable, though my copy shows no mark of doubt as to the reading.

## VIII. BARATA.

Bin-Bir-Kilisse, or Maden-Sheher: see Prof. Ramsay's article in this volume, p. 255.

71. In hut built into church. Christian inscription:

ἔνθα κατάκιτε
Παβ[λ]ῖνα
κὲ Ἄπα

Pavlina shows the modern pronunciation, see p. 75.

## IX. LARANDA (NOW CALLED KARAMAN).

72. Karaman. Entrance of Khatynia Medrese.

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Νερούαν Τραιανὸν Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Δακικὸν ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας πατέρα πατρίδος σωτῆρα τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἰλιστρέων
ὁ δῆμος

This stone has been brought from Ilistra (four hours north-west of Karaman), which retains the name of the ancient Ilistra.

## X. DAGH EUREN.

At intervals on the long ridge of Karadja Dagh are three fortified sites, that to the north known locally as Mennek and the most southerly as Sagh Kale. The third site lies midway between these two and seems to be spoken of simply as "mountain ruins". To this I paid a visit, making the ascent from the yaila of Yalma, four hours east-north-east of Kara Bunar. A climb of three hours by a

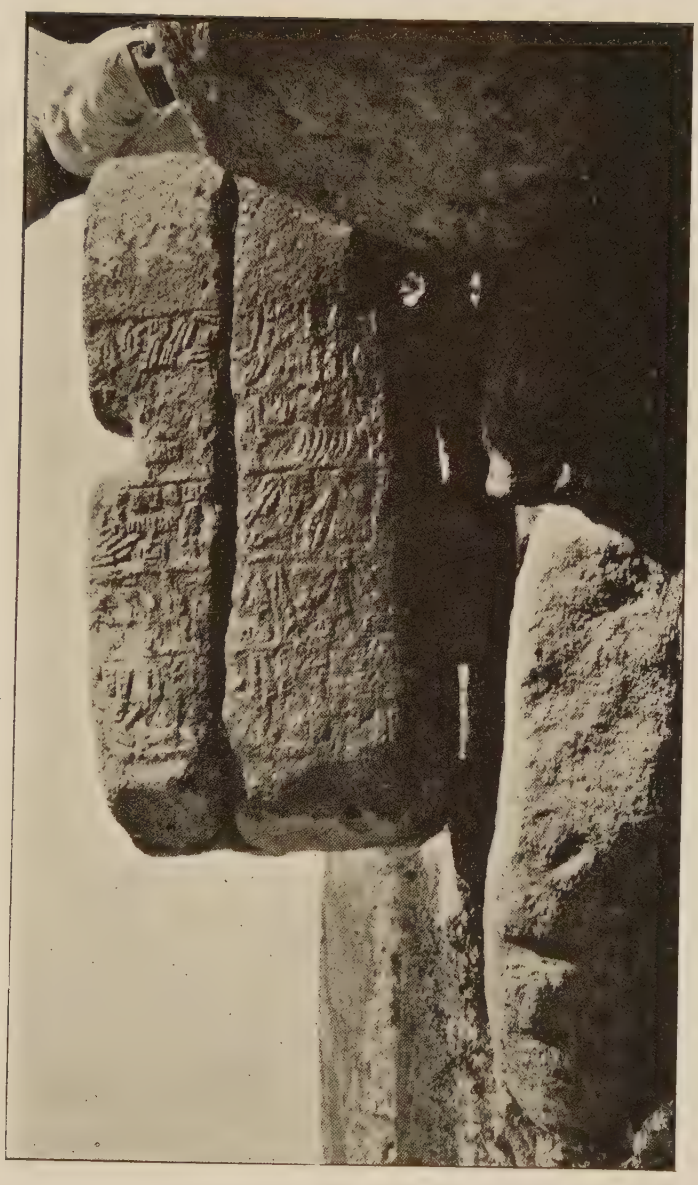
track leading south-east right across the range brought our party to the place, a gently sloping spot on the summit of the mountain covered with ruined dwellings massed together in the form of a rough square. To the south-east is a rocky acropolis crowned with a Kale, the lower courses of the wall still intact and built of large hewn blocks well put together. The Kale commands a wide view to the north-west and again to the south and east over the plain towards Bor and Eregli, the wall of Taurus forming an impressive background. More accessible apparently from this side, it afforded protection especially to the dwellers on the eastern slope of Karadja Dagh, a district which is still under cultivation in the northern part. On the south-west side of the town a spring furnishes the indispensable water supply. Although no inscriptions were visible the general character of the masonry and the patterns (see illustration) on a number of door-posts and lintels, some of them still in position and measuring as much as six feet long, two and a half wide and one foot thick, prove the city to have been Byzantine and of a good period. As is usual in such cases the stone employed is dark and coarse-grained, much of it basalt, which does not lend itself to fine work. Clay was probably used as mortar but is now washed out.

## XI. EMIR GHAZI.

My best find was made two days after the discovery of the nameless city at Dagh Ören. A "written stone" was reported at the village of Emir Ghazi seven hours north-east of Kara Bunar, and proved on examination to be a Hittite altar of the type already known from monuments discovered at Eyuk and Fraktin (*cf.* Ramsay and Hogarth, "Prehell. Mon. of Cappadocia," in vol. xiv. of *Maspero's Recueil*). There can be no doubt that the objects discussed there are representations in relief of a common kind of altar identical with the present.

The stone is a cylinder of black basalt, forty-two inches high,

PLATE X.



Block with Hittite Hieroglyphic Inscription, Emir-Ghazi (T. Callander).

*To face page 178.*

with expanding top, diameter twenty-five and a half inches (Pl. IX.). The inscription runs round the edge of the wide top and the shaft underneath in six parallel rows, all well preserved and legible with the exception of small portions of the fourth, fifth and sixth. A reading and interpretation have been given by Prof. Sayce in the *Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xxvii., pp. 21-31 and 43-47.

After photographing and making an impression of the stone, I proceeded to Konia whither Prof. Ramsay had gone by another route. Recognising the significance of the find and confident that other stones were to be seen not far away from the altar, he arranged a second visit to the neighbourhood, with the result that two additional texts appeared, both in the village of Emir Ghazi. One found by Prof. Ramsay is inscribed on two sides of a large block converted into a trough, and the other, discovered by Mrs. Ramsay, on a broken altar similar to the "great altar". (Pls. X., XI.).

The modern village of Emir Ghazi encroaches upon a low mound of considerable extent on its northern edge, and here the villagers have procured their supply of old worked stones. The indications point to this mound as the original site. Forty minutes north-west is Eski Kishla, in which the great altar stands. That there should be a second inhabited site so near is peculiar. The district is poor and water scarce; so that there is no apparent reason for the existence of Eski Kishla, *i.e.*, "Old Winter-Quarters," unless we understand it as an instance of duplication due to an ancient cleavage in the population. The intrusion of a Mohammedan race here as in other cases led to a split. The Christian village continued to exist after the Turkish conquest. The Moslem nomads made their permanent winter-village three miles away. The Christian villagers gradually died out or became Mohammedan in the course of generations. This double habitation can be observed all over Anatolia.* When Seidi Ghazi at last had become entirely Mohammedan, Eski Kishla had no longer any reason for a separate

* Ramsay, *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, pp. 27, 303, 576, 581.

existence ; its people gradually settled in the older and better site, and it is now uninhabited except by a few poverty-stricken nomads.

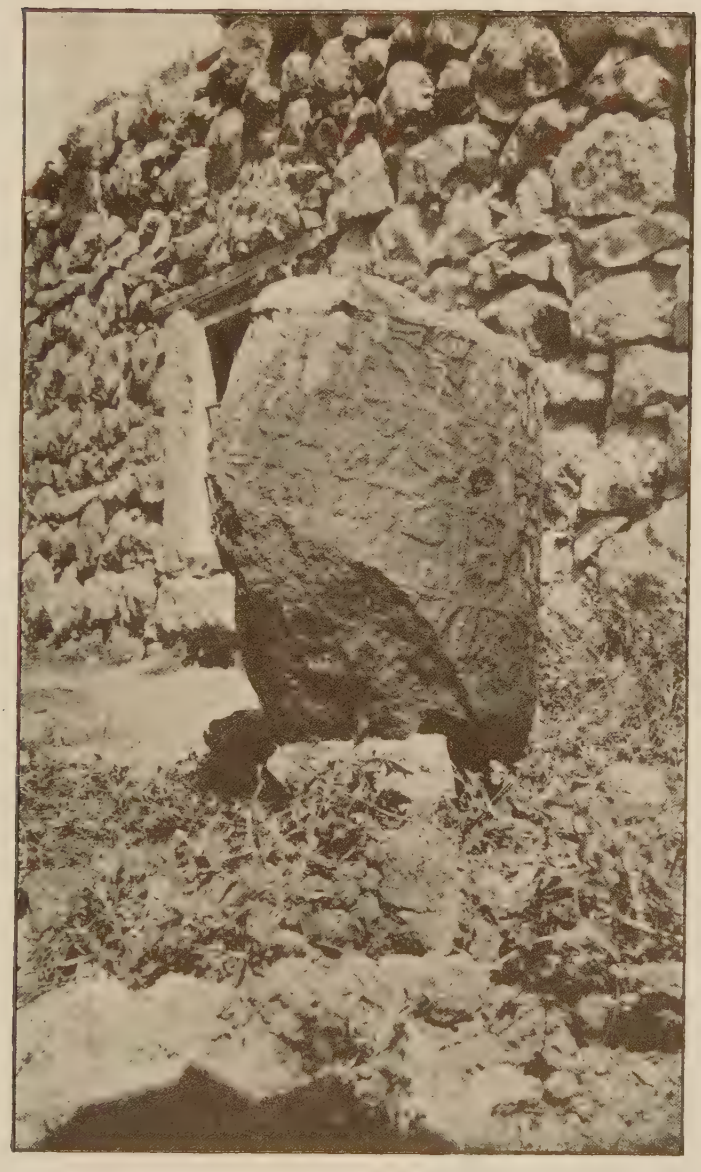
These monuments, taken in conjunction with the numerous squared stones among the débris at Eski Kishla, are evidence that a considerable Hittite settlement once existed here. Unlike other Hittite remains they do not stand on any of the recognised main lines of communication. They lie in the flat country near the south end of the Arissama Dagh, a lofty mass of rocks projecting from the plain north of Karadja Dagh. On a conical peak an ancient fortress named Arissama Kale is plainly visible about four miles from Eski Kishla in a direction slightly south of east. Thus a road from Tyana to the west passing along the southern edge of Hassan Dagh by way of the modern villages of Arissama and Emir Ghazi, would pass Eski Kishla and then at Kanna near the south end of Boz Dagh would naturally divide, one line running south of that range to Iconium and the other north-west by Savatra to Tyriaion. The difficulty of striking a direct track to Savatra at the present day inclines one to draw the line from Eski Kishla straight to Kanna and thence northwards. From Kanna probably the ancient route to Iconium branched off likewise.

73. At Kut-Euren, two hours S.E. of Emir-Ghazi, at N.E. end of Karadja Dagh.

† ὑπὲρ ἀνέσε- ς γραμματικοῦ
ως Κόνωνο-

This may be added to the list of monuments of schoolmasters in the Church of the fourth century (p. 140 *note* and Ramsay in *Expositor*, Feb., 1906, p. 153 f.). It is inscribed on a stone ornamented with line pattern similar to No. 58, p. 89, but in the present case the left-hand ornament is suppressed and only the panel with epitaph and the right-hand ornament remains (containing a double cross of later character than No. 58). The left edge of the panel is continued up and ends in a leaf. The whole looks like an imitation of a flag of modern form (whether such form of flag was in Byzantine use, I cannot say).

PLATE XI.



The Broken Hittite Altar, Emir-Ghazi (T. Callander).

*To face page* 180.

# VI.

# PAGANISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN THE UPPER TEMBRIS VALLEY.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

# PAGANISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN THE UPPER TEMBRIS VALLEY.

NINE years ago, in the course of my earliest essays in exploration (1897), I turned my steps to the district which forms the subject of the present paper, following the track of three previous explorers, M. Philippe Le Bas,* M. Georges Perrot,† and my friend and old teacher, Prof. W. M. Ramsay.‡ My visit produced some new documents of considerable importance, which were supplemented the following year by fresh discoveries made in conjunction with my friend, Mr. J. W. Crowfoot. Some of them have been published, but many of them have lain buried in the obscurity of my note-books, waiting for the third volume of the *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, which circumstances have delayed longer than we hoped. I now take the opportunity of editing some of the more interesting of these documents and reviewing the whole district. The impulse to travel in Asia Minor and, in large measure, the means I owe to the University of Aberdeen, which is known to the world of learning as the ἀρχὴ κινήσεως of British exploration in Anatolia, and it is with a sense of filial obligation that I take a part in celebrating the Fourth Centenary of the University, which has been to me an *alma mater* in the fullest sense.

* See Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéol.*, inscrr. Nos. 774-792.

† *Exploration de la Galatie*, p. 121 ff.

‡ I am indebted to Prof. Ramsay for some criticisms on the present article, which have led me to modify my views on certain points.

TO KOTHAION
KUSSURA
ADA
TO AIZANOI
HAIDARLAR
CIL III 7004
NUH-EUREN
TCHAL
ÖMER BABA DAGH
DOGHA LAR
AK-TCHAL DAGH
MEIROS
MALATIA
DOGHAN ARSLAN
ELMALY
ELMALY DAGH
GEUKDJELER
PORSUK SU
YALINIZ SERAI
UTCH-EYUK
ZEMMEO
TEMBRIOGIOS
TEMARIS
AI-KURUK
KUYUDJAK
KARA-AGATCH-EUREN
GEDJEK
KURD KEUI
TCHAKIRSAZ
ALTYN TASH
YAPULDJAK
ABIA DAGH
AKTCHE KEUI
ABIA SU
APPIA
KARA-AGATCH
TO PRYMNESSOS
BESH KARISH EYUK
EIRET
ABLAK DAGH
TEMBRIS
MURAD DAGH
(Mt. DINDYMOS)
SKETCH-MAP OF THE UPPER TEMBRIS VALLEY.
SCALE
5 4 3 2 1 0 5 KM
5 0 5
ENGL MILES
TO AKMONIA

## I. THE DISTRICT.

The district with which we propose to deal is the upper valley of the chief tributary of the Sangarios, the river Tembrogios * or Tembris, now called the Porsuk Su, in the basin of which lies the whole north-western corner of Phrygia towards Bithynia. Rising on the south of Mt. Dindymos, the modern Murad Dagh, the river skirts the mountain side for some miles and then bends sharply northwards round its eastern slopes. The valley is narrow for a distance of eight or nine miles north of the bend, but near the village of Besh-Karish Eyuk, "Five-span mound," it begins to open out into an extensive plain, through which the river flows for some twenty-three or twenty-five miles in a north-westerly direction before it enters the long, narrow gorge in the hills which separate this plain from that of Kotiaïon, the modern Kutaya. This large plain is now called Altyn-Tash Ova, taking its name from its most important village, Altyn-Tash, "the stone of gold," situated on the river about five miles north of Besh-Karish Eyuk. The scenery, though unromantic, is not unpleasing. There is, indeed, little vegetation to diversify the landscape, except scattered clumps of trees rising here and there like green islands from an ocean, around the mud-built villages; but the geographical configuration of the valley saves it from the dull and heavy monotony of the normal upland plain. On all sides it is girdled by hills. On the south-west towers the lofty mass of Dindymos, whose spurs run northwards, reaching their highest altitude in Abia Dagh, along the west side of the valley to meet the hilly rim of the charming and romantic Monument country which borders the plain on the east; while on the south they melt away in gentle slopes. Within the ring of hills the ground is rarely a dead level, but rolls along in gentle undulations, or rises gently up from the river to the hills. The soil is fertile and yields an easy livelihood to a peasant

* Pliny (*H.N.*, vi., 1) and inscr., p. 127. See p. 188 n.

population concentrated in numerous villages dotted about the plain and along the slopes ; but it is only partially cultivated, and here and there it has run to marsh. The plain contains no town : Altyn-Tash is merely a village, although until recent years it was a governmental centre of the lowest class (*mudurlik*)—a survival perhaps of an ancient fact. Kutaya is the metropolis of the district.

## II. TOPOGRAPHY : (*a*) GENERAL.

Here in truth, as so often in Asia Minor, life still moves on the ancient ways. The plain has never had a real city centre : it has always looked towards Kutaya. The ancient name of the district as a whole was Πραιπενισσός * or Πρεπενισσός, a Græcised form of the native name, which is probably more nearly represented by the Πρυπνίασα or Πρυπνίασσα of Hierocles.† The first mention of the name occurs in Ptolemy,‡ who calls it "an inland city of Great Mysia," but the real fact is more accurately expressed by Hierocles, who classes it as a δῆμος and is justified by the monuments, which show clearly that the district was, in Strabo's phrase, "inhabited on the village system" (*οἰκούμενον κωμηδόν*) by a backward agricultural population. Some of the villages were associated in loosely organised unions (*κοινά*), but each maintained its territory and its individuality separate and distinct, and that is the characteristic of the Anatolian village system. The only town in the immediate neighbourhood—and that a small one—was Appia,§ known to numismatists and to readers of Cicero's letters : ‖ it is now represented by the village of Abia, which lies some way up a lateral valley at the foot of Abia

* The identification, first made by Ramsay in *J.H.S.*, viii. (1887), p. 510 f. (*cf. Hist. Geogr.*, p. 144), is generally accepted.

† *Synecdemus*, 678, 7. ‡ Bk. v., 2, 13.

§ *Hist. Geogr.*, p. 146 ; *J.H.S.*, *l.c.*, p. 514.

‖ Cic., *ad Fam.*, iii., 7 and 9.

Dagh. But it lay just outside the borders of our district. It belonged to the province of Phrygia Pacatiana, while the Tembris valley belonged to Phrygia Salutaris: the frontier line passed somewhere between Appia and the Tembris valley* and between Aizanoi and Kotiaïon.

The older evidence left the topography of the district enveloped in an obscurity which later additions to our knowledge have unfortunately failed to dispel. The largest site lay at, or in close proximity to, Altyn-Tash, where ancient remains are by far the most numerous and important.† Altyn-Tash lies on the Roman road from Prymnessos to Kotiaïon,‡ which joins the road from Akmonia by Appia to Kotiaïon near the entrance to the Tembris gorge at the north end of the plain. This site has generally been identified with Soa on the strength of two inscriptions now in the village;§ and that is the natural inference, which it would require strong evidence to disprove. An inscription found in a cemetery three and a half miles to the south with the legend ὅροι Τοττοηνῶν was regarded by its discoverer‖ as proof that Tottoion or Tottaion was the ancient name of the village at Besh-Karish Eyuk, a mile and a half further south, —undoubtedly a reasonable identification. These two villages were,

* See below, p. 193 n.

† *Cf.* the description of M. Perrot, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

‡ *C.I.L.*, iii., 14200, where read "in via a Prymnesso Cotiæum" (*cf.* p. 2328[83]), and iii., 7169 (one hour east of Altyn-Tash).

§ Perrot, pp. 123, 124 (one in *C.I.G.*, 3857 *l* = *L.W.*, 774). On the false form Bennisoa, see *Hist. Geogr.*, p. 144, where it is suggested that the name Soa may be identical with Carian *Soua*, "grave" (Stephanus, *s.v.* Σουάγελα). Below, p. 365, Ramsay doubtfully identifies Soa with Esouakome of the Tekmoreian lists.

‖ Ramsay, *J.H.S.*, 1887, p. 513. He points out that the name occurs in Bithynia in the forms Τάταιον and Τόττειον, and is formed from the old personal name Tatas or Tottes, like Kotiaïon from Kotys, Midaïon from Midas, etc., *cf. Hist. Geogr.*, pp. 240 f., 182, 189, and Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 183. He would now connect our village with the ethnic Ταταηνὸς in the Tekmoreian lists and would identify with it the village [T ?]atou-kome mentioned in an inscription of Altyn-Tash, p. 370.

as we shall see, united in a *Koinon*. On the west side of the river, Aktche Keui, on the north-east of Appia, seems to bear the name Kereura in an inscription reproduced below (No. 4); and some distance further north Yaliniz-Seraï represents a village Abeikta, which was one member of a Trikomia or union of three villages, the other members being perhaps Utch-Eyuk and Zemme, as Ramsay suggested.* Two other villages of the Praipenisseis are mentioned in inscriptions, both of them lying in the hilly country which forms the eastern boundary of the plain, Iskome (Ἰσκόμη) at Kara-agatch Euren,† north of Altyn-Tash, and Zingot(?) at Doghalar, three hours north-west of Altyn-Tash.‡

### (*b*) THE IMPERIAL ESTATE.

Further light was thrown by the older evidence on the general condition of the district, or part of it. Two Latin inscriptions found in the northern half of the plain, one at Yaliniz Seraï commemorating an imperial *dispensator*,§ and the other further north, a boundary stone erected by an imperial *procurator* on the long ridge running out from the western hills and narrowing the plain opposite the villages of Nuh-euren and Haïdarlar,‖ led Prof. Ramsay to the conclusion that an imperial estate existed here, and he identified it with the royal domain called Tembre or Tembrion of which we hear in the tenth century.¶ This view has been justified by subsequent discovery. What were the limits of this imperial property? The earlier evidence pointed to the view expressed in the *Hist. Geog.*, p. 177, which, if I rightly understand

* *J.H.S.*, 1887, p. 514. † *J.H.S.*, 1884, p. 259; above, p. 144.

‡ κώμης Ζίνγοτος, *ibid.*, p. 261.

§ *C.I.L.*, iii., 7002. ‖ *Ibid.*, 7004.

¶ τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ Τέμβρη, Const. Porph., *de Caerimoniis*, p. 488. It was in the Opsikian Theme and supplied fishermen to accompany the Emperor on the march (*Hist. Geogr.*, p. 213). Stephanus Byz. gives the forms Τέμβριον, Τεμβρίειον and Τύμβριον. The river is called Tembris and Tembros on coins, Tymbris (Liv. 38, 18) and Thybris by Nicetas (p. 89) and Cinnamus (pp. 81, 191). Kretschmer, quoting other analogous names, shows that the series belongs to the *Urbevölkerung* (p. 193).

it, separates the estate from the Praipenissos district round Soa and limits it to the corner of territory between the Praipenisseis, Appia, Aizanoi and Kotiaïon. An epitaph of a *saltuarius* subsequently found far away on the south side of Mt. Dindymos was regarded as proof that the estate extended far to the south so as to include "the upper waters of the river Tembris and the slopes and glades of Dindymos on east, north-east and south-east".* Finally, a long inscription belonging to the years A.D. 244-6 which I was fortunate enough to find at Yapuldjan, a village a few miles west of Altyn-Tash, seemed to imply that the Soa-Tottoion district also was included, so that the estate embraced the whole valley of the upper Tembris, with the slopes and glades around.† Further study leads me to believe that this view is near the truth, though it cannot as yet be certainly proved. We may make a slight modification and admit that the epitaph of the *saltuarius* is hardly sufficient evidence for such a large southward extension of the estate.‡ But it is still a debatable question whether the Soa-Tottoion district was imperial property. It might be argued that Soa cannot have been part of the estate, since an inscription of the second or third century shows that it was a self-governing community with a βουλὴ and δῆμος,§ and that the early Christian inscriptions are inexplicable if they are erected by imperial *coloni*. But the existence of a *Boule* and *Demos* may be interpreted as an indication that a municipal organisation was beginning to be developed on part of this estate, as it was developed on other estates (see p. 307 f. of the present volume); and the spread of Christianity, as we shall see, need only imply that the *coloni* were less loyal to the imperial cultus than they were elsewhere. Unfortunately the evidence of the new inscription is inconclusive. It is a petition addressed to

* *Cities and Bish.*, p. 615. The inscription was found at Gumulu, south-west of the head waters of the Tembris (see *J.H.S.*, 1897, p. 421, note 2).

† See *C.I.L.*, iii., 14191; *J.H.S.*, 1897, p. 418 ff., 1898, p. 340 f.

‡ *Cf.* O. Hirschfeld, *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, ii., p. 301, note 5.

§ Perrot, *Exploration de la Gal.*, p. 124.

the imperial owners, the elder and younger Philip, by Aurelius Eglectus on behalf of the *inquilini et coloni Cæsaris*, [ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοι]νοῦ τῶν Ἀραγουηνῶν παροίκων καὶ γεωργῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων [. . . 13 to 14 letters . . .] ανη δήμου ΚΟΙΝΟΜΟΤΤΕΑΝΩΝ Σοηνῶν τῶν κατὰ Φρυγίαν τόπων. The gap at the critical point is peculiarly exasperating, and it has defied all attempts at restoration. My suggestion [. . . δαπ]άνῃ was accepted by Schulten, who inserted before it πρεσβείας γενομένης.* This supplement is too long, but the sense intended may have been that the expense of the mission was defrayed in whole or part by the neighbouring community, the *coloni* being too poor to meet the large expenses which such missions involved. This community is probably the δῆμος κοινὸς of Tottoion and Soa (the lapidary having engraved M for ΤΤ, as Ramsay suggested). But even if the sense intended were that the people of this district contributed to the expense (which is entirely doubtful), it would still be most natural to suppose that they formed part of the estate ; and, apart from theories about the mutilated clause, the fact that κοινὸν is a technical term for the commune in which the *coloni* of an estate were united and the special appropriateness in this connexion of the phrase οἱ κατὰ Φρυγίαν τόποι point to the conclusion that the Soa-Tottoion district was included in the imperial domain.

The *coloni* who sent the petition are called Ἀραγουηνοί. Now we know that an estate (or, in the case of large estates, each *saltus*) usually bore the name of the chief village within its limits, which formed the administrative centre and contained the official bureau.† We therefore infer that Aragoua (or Aragoue) was the principal village either of the estate or of a *saltus* of the estate ; the inscription shows that it lay on the side of Appia, and we may suggest that it was one of the three villages united in the *Trikomia* already mentioned, possibly Zemme or Utch-Eyuk.

* Schulten, in *Mittheilungen des Inst., Roem. Abtheil.*, 1898, p. 239. Mommsen, aided by Wilamowitz, found no solution ; he prints ὑμετέρων [τοῦ ἐν . . .]ανῃ.

† *Cf.* οἱ περὶ Ἅλαστον τόποι (*Cities and Bish.*, p. 302), κώμη Τυμβριανασσοῦ representing a *saltus* (*ibid.*, 322), *saltus Burunitanus* in Africa, etc.

### (*c*) IN CHRISTIAN TIMES.

The inscriptions prove that in the latter half of the third century Christianity was strongly rooted in the southern and eastern parts of the upper Tembris valley ; but the literary sources make no mention of a bishop till A.D. 451 at the Council of Chalcedon, where the metropolitan of Synnada signs on behalf of several absent bishops of his diocese, among whom is Auxanon τῆς πόλεως Πραιπενισσοῦ. Here πόλις must be understood as meaning what in later times was called a κωμόπολις, that is, a group of villages so organised as to correspond to a πόλις ; and the ecclesiastical centre can hardly have been other than the township of Soa (Altyn-Tash). Nearly a century later the old district name still survives in Hierocles (*ca.* A.D. 530) under the form δῆμος Πρυπνίασσα or Πρυπνίασα in the province of Phrygia Salutaris, to which the valley is consistently assigned. Then it disappears and is replaced by the bishopric Σκορδασπία or Σκορδαππία, which is the beginning of troubles. The evidence is best given in tabular form :—

| Epiphanii Notitia (*ca.* 650) | Not. viii., ix. | Not. de Boor (*ca.* 750-800) | Basilii Not. (*ca.* 800-830) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Synnada metropolis Σκορδασπίας | Σκυρδαπίας | Σκορδαππίας (perhaps-ασπίας) | Σκορδαπίας |

We have here an entirely new name recurring in every *Notitia* down to the ninth century. The name has generally been supposed to be corrupt, but Kubitschek believes he has found epigraphic corroboration of the form in an inscription of Salona, now in the Spalato Museum ; * and it is safer to regard it provisionally as a real name of a

* ἔνθα κῖ[τε] Μακεδο . . ισκροδαπηνός, which may be interpreted Μακεδόνις Κροδαπηνός or Μακεδόνι(ς) Σκροδαπηνός (less probably Μακεδόν = Μακεδών Ἰσκροδαπηνός). For the form of the ethnic he compares Στεκτορηνός from Στεκτόριον. *Festschrift f. Kiepert* (1898).

village of the Praipenisseis. In that case we may hazard the suggestion that the bishopric was really a double one, half of the double entry, ὁ Σκορδαππίας καὶ Σόας or Σόης (?), having been lost. But the difficulties do not end here. After the ninth century Skordapia disappears and in the reorganisation of Leo the Wise is replaced by two bishoprics with equally obscure names, which appear in the genitive case as Σπορῆς and Γαϊουκώμεως or Γαϊκώμεως. These are attached together with Konna (probably Ayaz-in) to Kotiaïon, which, after being recognised as an independent church centre (*autokephalos*) in the eighth century, now becomes a *metropolis*.* Here is the evidence of the episcopal lists :—

| Leonis Diatyposis (A.D. 900-7) | Nova Tactica (A.D. 950) | Not. III. | Not. X. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kotiaïon metropolis in each case. | | | |
| ὁ Σπορῆς | Σπορῆς | Σπορῆς | Σπορῆς |
| ὁ Κωνῆς | Κονῆς | Κωνῆς | Κόνης |
| ὁ Γαϊουκώμεως | Γαϊκώμεως | Γαϊουκώμεως | Γαϊουκώμης |

The last name is certainly corrupt and, in all probability, the first is also. Now in my judgment Altyn-Tash must necessarily be the site of one of the two bishoprics (which are proved by the grouping alone to belong to the upper Tembris valley), and I would suggest that Spore is simply a false form of Soë or Soa.† The other must represent the northern half of the plain. Now we have already found the existence of a Trikomia there : what can be clearer than that

* See below, § iv. *fin.*

† Spore, suspected to be corrupt in *Hist. Geogr.*, p. 145, was placed by Ramsay at Malatia, between Doghan Arslan and Gerriz (*J.H.S.*, 1887, p. 512, *cf. Cities and Bish.*, p. 791), but that has now been proved to be the site of Meiros or Meros (*J.H.S.*, 1897, p. 422 ff.). It is interesting to note the remarks of M. Perrot, *op. cit.*, p. 122 : *La mosquée* (d'Altyn Tash) *presque entièrement faite de matériaux antiques . . . remonte peut-être à l'époque Seljoukide ou plus haut encore. D'après la tradition du pays, ce serait une ancienne église.*

Γαϊκώμεως is a corruption of Τρικωμίας? It is only in the latest *Notitia* that the final form of the corruption, Γαϊουκώμης, appears. We know that Trikomia occurs elsewhere as the name of a bishopric, *e.g.*, in Palestine and Arabia. Trikomia then is the bishopric representing the northern half of the Imperial estate.*

These are some suggestions towards the unravelling of a topographical tangle, but many details remain obscure and can be cleared up only by further discovery.

## III. THE INSCRIPTIONS.

The Tembris valley has yielded a comparatively large number of ancient monuments: few of its numerous villages are devoid of some remnants of antiquity. The inscribed stones are almost all tombstones; most of them are pagan, but there is a fair number of early Christian epitaphs of a remarkable type, to which there is no parallel. Taken altogether, the inscriptions of the valley form an exceptionally interesting group. First as to the type of tombstone used. The favourite form of tombstone with pagans and Christians alike is the *stele* (which sometimes takes the form of the well-known "door-stone"), though the βωμὸς is not uncommon. The *stele* has

* In *Hist. Geogr.*, pp. 146, 178, 213 n., the bishopric Εὐδοκίας placed by Hierocles (668, 7) in Phrygia Pacatiana between Appia and Aizanoi is identified with the Imperial estate. This identification is no longer tenable, unless we revert to the older view which limited the estate to the northern half of the plain. In that case the boundary between Pacatiana and Salutaris would pass through the Tembris valley, and the identification of Γαϊκώμεως and Τρικωμίας would fall to the ground. We might then take Ramsay's ingenious suggestion that Γαιουκώμεως represents [Τα]ταίου κώμης (*Class. Rev.*, 1905, p. 427), which I incorporated in my map of Asia Minor but have been forced to abandon as unworkable. But apart from other difficulties, what would then become of the bishopric representing the estate in the later centuries? An alternative suggestion (*H.G.*, p. 146) would place Eudokias in the Murad Dagh country to the west. For the northern part of this district, *cf. Annual of British School at Athens*, 1897-8, p. 52 ff.

generally a pointed or semi-circular pediment, or a pointed pediment with an arched recess, round the lower edge of which the legend is often engraved. The central field is frequently filled with figures, which were supposed to represent the dead or some of them, but were really stock patterns which the stone-cutter reproduced in all his samples with little variation except in regard to the sex and number of the figures. The pediment is adorned with various devices, such as an eagle with wings displayed or dolphins with small fish in their mouths ; but in nine cases out of ten the subject is two lions (generally in a sitting posture) facing each other, each with one paw on the prostrate form of a bull or boar or deer or other animal (or merely its head), this device being doubtless a development of the old *schema* of two lions guarding the tomb, which appears on the rock monuments not far away on the east. Occasionally when the central field is otherwise occupied (*e.g.*, by the representation of a door or by the epitaph), the pediment is filled with busts claiming to portray the deceased. In the pediment itself, or in the main field, or at the foot of the stone, or in any available empty space we find also representations of articles of toilet—mirrors, combs, boxes, bottles, etc.—or objects indicating the occupation of the departed, such as spindles and distaffs for women, and knives, pruning-hooks, a team of oxen yoked to a plough, masons' tools and so forth for men. Round the edge of the *stele* runs a decorative border. From an artistic point of view these monuments are worth study not as finished products (for the workmanship is mostly of the roughest kind), but as illustrations of the development of native Anatolian art. The beginning of such a study was made by my former companion in travel, Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, in a paper entitled " Notes upon late Anatolian Art " published in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1897-1898, p. 79 ff., but Fortune, which has been so often unkind to the cause of British exploration, has withdrawn him to other tasks.

The legends and reliefs on these *stelai* and *bomoi* throw some light on the social life of the people whom they commemorate.

In and around the Imperial estate we find a rustic population engaged in agriculture and the ordinary trades and handicrafts, and concentrated in villages * which, while occasionally associating with some of their neighbours in simple forms of union, were essentially self-contained centres of life, looking to no larger world beyond. The village is the peasant's πατρίς (*cf.* No. 21). Though no local officials are mentioned in the inscriptions, these villages had of course the usual rudimentary organisation found in other Anatolian κῶμαι ; but except in the case of Soa, which had a *Boule* and a *Demos*, there existed no free civic institutions of the Hellenic type to sharpen the wits and stimulate the intellectual development of the inhabitants. In the third and early fourth centuries, to which most of the documents belong, the education of the people was very imperfect : the bad spelling and remarkable constructions (or absence of construction) which mark the inscriptions and often make it very difficult to divine the writer's meaning, show how inadequate a knowledge of the Greek language had then been attained. Yet there is a keen interest in Greek things, growing with the spread of Christianity. The influence of the old poetry is seen in the occasional assumption of heroic names like Telemachos (No. 1), and in the quaint metrical epitaphs which are more ambitious than successful. One of these epitaphs is based on the ancient " Homeric " epigram to Midas, whose tomb is cut in the rock about 35 miles distant, as the crow flies.† They display an extraordinary talent for coining new words and abound in metrical atrocities which justify the refrain of Franz, " verba in speciem orationis vinctae composita ". The badness of the metre is obviously due in large part to the fact that they are made from models (of which there seems to have been no lack), or compiled out of current formulæ, which had to be adapted by unskilful composers to suit varying family relationships and intractable personal names. We may quote, for example, ἀέναον τόδε σῆμα πατὴρ εἴδρυσε

* The largest, Soa, is a township.

† *Class. Rev.*, 1896, p. 420, re-printed above, p. 126.

θυγατρί and ἀέναον τόδε σῆμα ἀνὴρ εἴδρ. γυναικί, or Μονταν̀ον καθορᾷς κατέχει, ξένε, οὗτος ὁ τύμβος and Ἀκύλαν καθορᾷς κ.τ.λ. One or two of the pagan epitaphs have a special interest in relation to the great religious struggle of the third and early fourth centuries, which forms our next topic.

## IV. EARLY CHRISTIANITY.

The early Christian inscriptions of the district, here for the first time published in full,* form a remarkable series. Prof. Ramsay, the pioneer in this subject, working from the monuments, has traced three different streams of Christian influence in Phrygia during the early centuries: (1) one coming up the Mæander valley from Ephesus and diffusing itself over the cities of south-west and central Phrygia, (2) another starting from the churches founded by St. Paul and affecting south-eastern Phrygia and Lycaonia, and (3) another coming down from the Bithynian sea-board (less probably by way of Mysia) into the district with which we are here concerned. The outlines of the history of Christian development in the first region have been drawn in the *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (1897), pt. ii. The second has recently been discussed, so far as Lycaonia is concerned, in the *Expositor*, 1905, 1906. The third district was treated eighteen years ago in the same journal, vol. viii. (1888), p. 241 ff. and ix., p. 141 ff. The additions which have been made since then to the evidence necessitate little or no modification in the general conclusions there reached, and in one instance they supply proof of the delicacy of the writer's feeling for those slight variations of sentiment and expression which often constitute the sole difference between Christian and pagan inscriptions in the earlier centuries.

The most cursory survey of the early Christian inscriptions of

* Only two were known to M. Cumont when he published his catalogue of Christian inscriptions (note on p. 203) in 1895.

the north-west and south-west districts reveals a striking difference between the two groups. In the latter class, which belongs chiefly to the cities, the Christian character of the documents is so carefully veiled that it is only by subtle differences of expression and occasionally by the use of inconspicuous symbols and, in the later third century, by the character of the personal names, that they can be distinguished from the ordinary non-Christian epitaphs. The adherents of the old and the new religion were animated by a mutual spirit of compromise, and the latter studiously avoided giving offence to their neighbours and provoking persecution by any outspoken declaration of their faith. But in the Praipenisseis district a very different type of Christianity prevailed. There are indeed two inscriptions of the southern type, but in general we find a fearless profession of faith. Nine out of the fifteen early epitaphs begin or end by proclaiming to the world the religion not only of the deceased, but also of the surviving members of the family in the formula "Christians to Christians" or "Christians to a Christian"; and sometimes the formula is engraved apart from the main body of the epitaph, as if designed to arrest the attention of the passer-by. There is no reason to suppose that these gravestones were erected in private cemeteries. Such evidence as we have proves the contrary: in the ancient cemetery at Aï-Kuruk,* which stands by the side of the modern *chaussée* from Altyn-Tash to Kutaya and not far from the corresponding Roman road, Christian and pagan tombstones were turned up together before our eyes. This group of inscriptions is quite distinct from others of an analogous type which are subsequent to the State recognition of Christianity by Constantine.† The present series belongs to the second half of the third century. One of the earliest (No. 11) is dated A.D. 248-249, and another of

* The name perhaps represents *Ayios Kyriakos* (R.). The village is Circassian.

† In other districts there are a few isolated inscriptions mentioning the religion, which perhaps belong to the pre-Constantine period, *e.g.*, at Apameia (*Cities and Bish.*, No. 393) and at Apollonia (Sterrett, *Wolfe Exped.*, 555, Διογένου Χρηστιανοῦ, according to Ramsay's reading).

a similar type,* which occurs not far away at Ushak (Temenothyræ-Flaviopolis), is dated A.D. 278-279. Thus one at least is anterior to the Decian persecution (A.D. 249-260) and perhaps others belong to the same period. None of them can have been erected during the years of persecution, and it is clear that the majority fall within the interval of peace which lasted till the fresh outburst of repression under Diocletian and his successors (A.D. 303-313). The character and ornamentation † of the stones, the style of the lettering, the employment in most of them of the older formula mentioning the maker of the tomb, and the occurrence in many of them of the *prænomen* Aurelius or Aurelia (mostly used in the third century and more rarely in the fourth) leave little doubt as to the general period to which they belong. An examination of the personal names which occur in the inscriptions points to the same period. In most of the epitaphs the names do not differ from those in vogue amongst the non-Christian population, but the combination in some of them (particularly Nos. 14 and 15) of names specially favoured by the Christians marks the transition to a specifically Christian nomenclature, which begins to develop in Phrygia during the latter part of the third century. The pre-Constantine period is indicated also by the variation of spelling Χρειστιανός, Χρηστιανός, and Χριστιανός, the second form being the commonest and the third very rare. As Franz pointed out (*C.I.G.*, 3857 *p*), while Tacitus has the form *Christus*, Suetonius uses *Chrestus*, and the spelling *Chrestianus*, which was in vogue among Christians as well as pagans, was combated by the early Fathers of the Church, Tertullian (in A.D. 197) and Lactantius (in the beginning of the fourth century). In our district Χρηστιανός appears to be rather later than Χρειστιανός and earlier than Χριστιανός, but

* *Cities and Bish.*, No. 444 = *L.W.*, 727, *C.I.G.*, 3865 *l.*

† *Cf.* Perrot, *op. cit.*, p. 126, comparing *L.W.*, 727, with the inscriptions of Altyn-Tash and neighbourhood published by Le Bas-Waddington and himself: *Toutes ces inscriptions, d'après la forme des caractères et le style des sculptures . . . ne peuvent guère être posterieures au troisième siècle de notre ère.*

probably overlapping both, *cf.* No. 13 with Nos. 14 and 15, and 23 with 21.

How are we to explain this unique type of Christianity? One striking point about it is that it is confined to the country district, while there is no trace of it in the neighbouring towns. Aizanoi and Dorylaïon have yielded no early Christian inscriptions at all. Kotiaïon, the civic (and in later times the ecclesiastical) metropolis of the district has left us only two certain * and two probable † Christian epitaphs of the period, and these are of the veiled South-Phrygian type. Yet we know that there was a Christian community there, with a bishop at its head, before the time of the Nicæan Council (A.D. 325).‡ It is clear that in North-west Phrygia the non-Christian element was strong and vigorous in the towns. Was it weaker or more tolerant in the rural parts? Or is there some other explanation? In the light of the recent evidence the problem has increased in interest.

Who were the people who made this public profession of the proscribed religion? On the view that the Imperial estate included the whole of the upper Tembris valley, the answer would be that they were largely the *coloni* of the estate. That seems, at first sight, improbable. It is hard to believe that such an open profession of Christianity could have been made by the tenants of the Emperor, men bound to his service in a special way and bound to be loyal above all others to the Imperial cultus. Nonconformity to the State religion was high treason, and it was precisely the repudiation of it that drew down upon the Christians the vengeance of the emperors. Moreover, recent discoveries have shown that some at least of the Imperial domains were strongholds of paganism in the third century. Prof. Ramsay has proved § that the well-known

* *C.I.G.*, 3827 *y*, and *Class. Rev.*, 1897, p. 137.

† *C.I.G.*, 3827 *r* and 3827 *k*.

‡ He was a Novatian. *Cf.* Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*, Eng. trans., ii., p. 362.

§ *Class. Rev.*, 1905, p. 419 ff., and more fully in the present volume.

inscriptions of the *Xenoi Tekmoreioi* discovered on the estates round Pisidian Antioch are documents of a religious character, dedicated in the period A.D. 220-250 by a brotherhood or society composed, in great part at least, of Imperial *coloni* associated in the joint worship of the old native deities and the emperors who had succeeded to their heritage. The τέκμωρ was a sign of loyalty to the State religion, forming part of the pagan ritual, and the object of the brotherhood was to organise opposition to Christianity by a revival of paganism. Such revivals were most marked, naturally enough, during times of persecution : the repression of the new faith breathed fresh life into the dying religion. In or near the Praipenisseis district we have evidence of a similar awakening of pagan devotion towards the end of the third century in the metrical epitaph * of an astrologer Epityn-chanos, whose sons carried on his profession after his death. He is apparently the same person as the Akmonian high-priest, who took part in the last persecution of the Christians, or at any rate he belonged to the same family. He extols the science of astrology, which played so great a part in the orientalised paganism of the time, and describes the benefits accruing to men from his skill. On the estate itself there is some evidence of the vitality of paganism : one inscription † commemorates the erection of an altar to the Clarian Apollo in obedience to an oracle of the god, who describes himself as the giver of all fruits to men, οὗς ἐθέλω σῶσ(αι) τε καὶ οἷς κλέος οἶδα φορέσκειν. The high-priest with a Romanised name mentioned in another inscription ‡ was in all probability high-priest in the Imperial cultus, which here associated the Emperor with the native god, Zeus Benneus or Bennios, who is mentioned in several inscriptions of the district.

It would be possible, then, in view of the fact that there is some slight uncertainty as to the exact bounds of the Imperial property, to argue that it was not from the peasants on the estate that

* At Doghan Arslan : *Class. Rev.*, 1897, p. 136 ; *cf. Cities and Bish.*, pp. 566, 790.

† *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 31, and above, p. 128, no. 10. ‡ Perrot, p. 133.

this bold proclamation of adherence to the new faith emanated, but from their neighbours around.* But the evidence as a whole indicates that loyalty to the State religion was much weaker in the Tembris valley than on other domains, and the most probable view is that Christianity had made many converts among the peasants of the Tembris estate. In any case it is clear that the people of this whole district were deeply affected by the tenets of Montanism, † which insisted on the duty of confession and permitted no compromise with Imperial idolatry. Such boldness cannot have escaped notice in the great persecution of the early fourth century, and there is some evidence that the district suffered. The wording of an inscription of Zemme arrests attention : " This tomb, thou seest, stranger, contains Aquila, a minister of God's service (*λειτουργὸν θεοῦ*) and beloved by the angels, a leader (president) of the people (*λαοῦ προστάμενον*), wont to entertain just thoughts ; and he came to the mansion of God, great in honours, and to his rest. . . ." Aquila was a pastor, or bishop, who died amid the veneration of his people, and I feel no doubt of the correctness of Ramsay's suggestion that he was a victim of the persecution which began in A.D. 303.‡ Another

* This view would involve the assumption that a few of the inscriptions have been carried some distance.

† The Montanist character of this class of epitaphs was pointed out by Ramsay in *The Expositor*, 1888 and 1889, and *Cities and Bish.*, pp. 490-491, 536 f.

‡ The inscription is published in the present volume, p. 125, no. 7. The date is not later than the early fourth century. The *terminus ante quem* may be determined by comparison with an inscription of Kotiaïon, appositely quoted by Ramsay : *Εὐτυχιανὸν τὸν τιμηθέντα παρὰ τοῦ ἱερατίου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ παρὰ Θεοῦ δοξασθέντα, τούτῳ μνήμης χάριν ἡ σύνβιος Νικοστράτη κὲ τὰ τέκνα ἀνέστησαν* (*C.I.G.*, 9263, *L.W.*, 828). Here the sharp distinction between clergy and laity and the more formal and technical character of the phraseology point to the fourth century. Yet the fact that the phrase *παρὰ θεοῦ δοξασθ.* is modelled on a common pagan formula *τειμηθέντα ὑπὸ σωτείρης Ἑκάτης* (Kotiaïon, *C.I.G.*, 3827 *q*) or *ὑπὸ ἀθανάτων θεῶν*, etc., shows that the inscription belongs to a period when paganism was vigorous and militant, and it is therefore to be assigned to the second decade of the fourth century. The less developed and crystallised phraseology of the epitaph of Aquila points to an earlier date.

bishop is commemorated in No. 21, which appears to be of a rather earlier date than the former, in spite of the careless engraving and poor composition. He is described as ἄρχων πατρίδος λαοῦ, a form of expression which is even less technical than λαοῦ προστάμενος. In both cases the actual title of the office was perhaps πρεσβύτερος, which occurs in another epitaph of the same period (No. 20). These three inscriptions show us the beginnings of ecclesiastical organisation in the district towards the end of the third century or the opening years of the fourth.

We can now discern a reason for the assignation of our district to Kotiaïon on its elevation to the rank of a metropolis in the tenth century. It seems probable that in this grouping we should recognise, with Ramsay, a survival of the old religious cleavage produced by the Montanist (Kataphrygian) movement which arose in the northern region of Phrygia* and, blending with Novatianism, diffused itself over the country. Kotiaïon was from the beginning a hot-bed of "heresy," and this fact was the basis of its persistent claim to be recognised as an independent centre (*autokephalos*) responsible to Constantinople alone. That claim was at last admitted, probably by one of the Iconoclast emperors in the eighth century,† and its new dignity appears in Basil's *Notitia* (A.D. 800-830). Kotiaïon had always been the urban centre of the Praipenisseis district and the attachment of the latter to it in the latest ecclesiastical arrangement may well imply a sympathy in religious views.

* Montanus himself was a native of a village on the borders of Phrygia and Mysia. Montanism represented a conservative national movement opposed to the centralising and unifying policy of the Church as a whole; in the third century the Kataphryges are called "homines religionis antiquae" as distinguished from the "Christiani catholicae legis" (Harnack, ii., p. 363).

† *Hist. Geogr.*, p. 436.

### V. THE FORMULA τὸν θεὸν σὺ μὴ ἀδικήσεις.

It will be observed that this class of inscriptions contains no adjuration to the public to abstain from violating the tomb corresponding to that expressed in the southern formula ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, "he shall have to reckon with God," or δώσει τῷ θεῷ λόγον, "he shall account to God". But there are some instances of a quaint formula τὸν θεὸν σὺ μὴ ἀδικήσεις, "thou shalt not wrong God," generally engraved in any available corner of the stone. Two examples of it belong to Kotiaïon, where the gravestones of the Praipenisseis were made, as is proved by the fact that stones of the same type are exceedingly common there. One is like an ordinary pagan epitaph (*C.I.G.*, 3827 *y*). The other begins with the formula, which is followed by a representation of open *tabellae*, and then comes the main inscription containing the names Elpizon, Cyrilla (thrice), Zoïlos, Tatianes (twice) and Ammias (*Class. Rev.*, 1897, p. 137). An isolated example of the formula occurs at Pisidian Antioch.* The others belong to our district.

No example of this class appears in M. Cumont's catalogue of *Les Inscriptions Chrétiennes de l'Asie Mineure.*† In his earlier discussion Ramsay, with these three inscriptions and No. 19 before him, decided that the series was Christian and intrepreted the *tabellae* in the second as an open bible ;‡ and the combination of several favourite Christian names in this inscription gave much probability to his view. In the *Cities and Bishoprics* (p. 499) his words are somewhat more guarded : while maintaining its Christian character to be highly probable, he allows that "it is neither so obviously Christian § as the

* Sterrett, *Epigr. Journ.*, No. 142 (wrongly transliterated).

† *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'histoire*, 1895, p. 245 ff.

‡ He now interprets the *tabellae* differently ; see his articles on "The Book as an Early Christian Symbol," in *Expositor*, 1905, p. 209 ff. and 294 ff. Above, p. 27.

§ On p. 499, n. 4, a closely parallel formula is quoted from a pagan inscription, μηθένα ἀδικῆσαι κατὰ τῶν θεῶν (Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 772).

formula δώσει τῷ θεῷ λόγον, nor capable of being certainly demonstrated by its varieties and accompaniments to be Christian, like the formula ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν". The certain demonstration was discovered in 1898 when the villagers of Aïkuruk dug up No. 20, which gives a rather fuller expression of the formula, τὸν θεὸν σοὶ (= σὺ) ἀναγνοὺς μὴ ἀδικαίσις. When we consider that the much more obviously Christian epitaph of Avircius Marcellus has been interpreted—very ingeniously—by distinguished German scholars as the epitaph of a priest of Cybele, it is no small gain to have indisputable proof of the character of our formula.

The inscriptions containing the formula were considered by Prof. Ramsay as "probably all of one period, and that period the third century," judging from "the style and the general similarity of the stones which are of the regular type of gravestones then employed by the non-Christian population".* This view is confirmed by the new evidence, which brings them into relation with the "Christians to Christians" group. The mention of the distinctively Christian office of πρεσβύτερος in No. 20 might seem, at first sight, inconsistent with this date. In other parts of Phrygia this would indicate a post-Constantine date, but that criterion does not apply to this district: where people openly call themselves Christians, there could be no reason for avoiding the mention of a Christian office. This conclusion is supported by the style of the lettering, which seems to me clearly to belong to the third century (or, at latest, to the early years of the fourth).

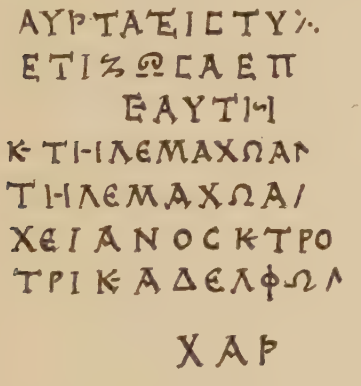
However little permanent value the present paper many prove to have, it will not be labour lost if it serve to show how much might be done by a little more exploration to fill up the gaps in our present knowledge of a most interesting corner of Phrygia. Let us hope it will not be long delayed. Nine years ago the surface stones were perishing fast, and fresh stones were being dug up to be hidden in new buildings or re-faced and destroyed. It is the same every-

* *Expositor*, 1888, p. 257.

where in Asia Minor. Historical evidence is being lost for ever, because the little money needed to secure it cannot be found. The University of Aberdeen could find no more fitting way of signalising her Quatercentenary than by the establishment of a permanent fund for the exploration of the country for which she has already done so much, a country which from a historical point of view is perhaps the most interesting and important in the world.

## INSCRIPTIONS.

1. Abia. *Stele* in the pavement of the entrance to the mosque. The right-hand half is concealed by flooring. Above the inscription is represented a bird on a basket.



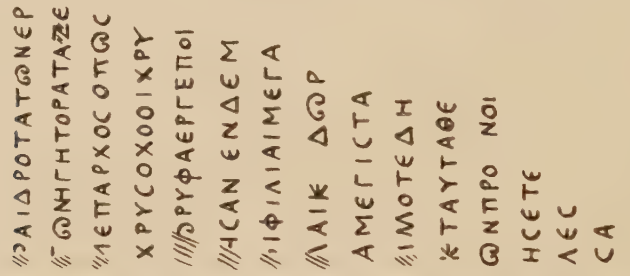
Αὐρ. Ταταὶς Τυχ[ικοῦ
ἔτι ζῶσα ἐπ[οίησεν
ἑαυτῇ
κὲ Τηλεμάχῳ ἀ[νδρί, κὲ
Τηλεμάχῳ ἀ[δελφῷ Εὐτυ-
χειανὸς κὲ Τρό[φιμος πατ-
τρὶ κὲ ἀδελφῷ [μνήμης
χάρ[ιν.

2. Kara-agatch, near Appia. In the gable of a house.

D. M.
*ox-head wreath ox-head*
C. Orfidio
Stratocle
patri fecit
Proculus
Augg.

Proculus is a slave belonging to the Imperial estate. His father, a freedman, had married a slave woman and the son inherits the status of the mother.

3. Kara-agatch. *Stele* with a figure in the centre. The first four hexameters are engraved on the left-hand side of the figure, and the rest underneath. The lower part is much worn.



φ]αιδροτάτων ἔρ[γ]ων ἡγήτορα τά[ξ]' ἔμ' ἔπαρχος
ὅ(π)πως χρυσοχόοι χρυ[σ]ώρυφα ἔργ' ἐποί[η]σαν·
ἐν δ' ἐμ[ο]ὶ φιλίαι μεγά[λ]αι κὲ δῶρα μέγιστα·
ἀ]λλ' ὅτε δὴ κὲ ταῦτα θεῶν προνοίης ἐτέλεσσα,
5 ]μμασι φαιδροτάτοις [ἀ]πέλυσέ με α[ὐτ]ὸς ἔπαρχο[ς,

ἦλυθον ἐς φ[ήμ]η[ν] ἀνύσα[ς τ]άξις τε μεγίστας·
δὴ τότε μοι [σ]τύγι[ό]ν τε κακὸν ζωῆς τέλος ἦλθε.
π]εντά[κ]ι πέντε [μ]όνους διαινυσάμην ἐνιαυτούς,
ἆ]θλα . . . . . στέφος ἔσχον
ἀλλὰ τά]χος μοῖ[ραι] τέλος ὥρισαν [κ]αὶ Κρόνου [αὐ]γ[ή
. . γον]εῦσι . . πολύσ[τ]ονο[ν . . . . . .
. . . . . βαθύ[ζ]ωνο[ι . .
. . . . . ε[ἴ]δρυσ[αν.

This may be the epitaph of an architect who had been appointed by the governor (?) to erect certain buildings with gilded ceilings or roofs,—if χρυσώροφα (χρυσόροφα) is intended,—was specially honoured by him at the conclusion of his task, and speedily advanced to fame and important posts before his death at the age of 25. But it is perhaps possible that χρυσωρύχα should be read and that the reference is to gold mines (ἔργα) in or near M. Dindymos, χρυσοχόοι denoting the smelters and refiners (*cf.* Steph., *Thesaur.*, s.v.).

The Eparchos is probably to be understood as the Imperial procurator in charge of the estates of Tembrion, and not as the proconsul governing the Province of Asia. The latter would be the more usual sense, but the former is permissible in verse.

2. M. Cumont, quoting ὑψόροφον τέμενος in an inscription of Amasia, proposes [ὑψ]ώρ[ο]φα (for ὑψόροφα); but the letters here were clear and can scarcely have been thus misread.

5. στέ]μμασι seems too long.

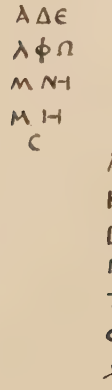
6. ἀνύσας τάξ(ε)ις, suggested by M. Cumont, who has helped me with the restoration.

7. τε for καὶ, see no. 21, l. 5.

8. *Cf.* ἑπτάκι δέκα, Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 620, 7.

10. The reference appears to be to the baneful planet Saturn, whose influence shortens life, as M. Cumont suggests, quoting the declaration of Vettius Valens (2nd cent. after Christ), τοὺς θανάτους ἀποτελεῖ βιαίους ἐν ὕδατι ἢ δι' ἀγχόνης ἢ δεσμῶν ἢ δυσεντερίας, ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ πτώσεις ἐπὶ στόμα (*Catal. codd. astrol. gr.*, ii., 89, 35). Astrological ideas may be expected in the district where Epityncanos practised (see above, § iv., p. 200).

4. Aktche Keui. Tablet with a rude, lifeless figure in the centre.




ἀδελφῷ μνήμης χάριν.
Αὐρ. Τροφιμίων
Κερευρηνὸς κὲ
Βερονίκης τέκ-
νῳ Τροφίμῳ, κὲ
Τρόφιμος κὲ Τρο-
φιμιανὴς κὲ Εὐτυ-
χιανός.

Kereura was apparently the ancient name of the village. The tablet seemed to me to be late (probably fourth century) and the name Beronice perhaps indicates that the inscription is Christian. Βερονίκης, Τροφιμιανής: the addition of a ς to the nominative of feminine personal names ending in η or α is a peculiarity of N.W. Phrygia (*cf.* Franz on *C.I.G.*, 3856 *add.*); other examples occur in Nos. 6, 10, 15, 16 and at Kotiaïon, Aizanoi, etc.

5. Kuyudjak. On a *bomos*. Almost correctly restored from a very bad copy by Kirchhoff (Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 384).

Ἦλυθον ἐκ Κρήτης, Κίσαμος πόλις ἐ(σ)τὶ πατρίς μου,
οὔνομα Καλλιστώ, λέκτροις ἐδόθην δὲ πρὸς οἴκους
ἀνδρὸς Ἐπικτήτου, ᾧ καὶ τέκνα δισσὰ λιποῦσα
βουλομένων Μοιρῶν ἦλυθον εἰς Ἀίδην,
σωφροσύνης δ' ἀρετὴν οἶδεν ἐμὸς γαμέτης,
ὃς καὶ τύμβον ἐμοὶ μνήμης χάριν εἴδρυσεν ἔνθα.

1. ἐ(σ)τὶ, restored by Kirchhoff, was probably intended. I have a note that there is a space between E and T.

It is interesting to find evidence of intercourse between Crete and this remote district of Phrygia. If Kubitschek is right in his interpretation of the inscription quoted above (note p. 191), we have evidence of another native of the district migrating to the Dalmatian coast. But, more probably, some Dalmatian village is there meant. If the Phrygian village had been intended, Ἀσίας or Φρυγίας would naturally have been added.

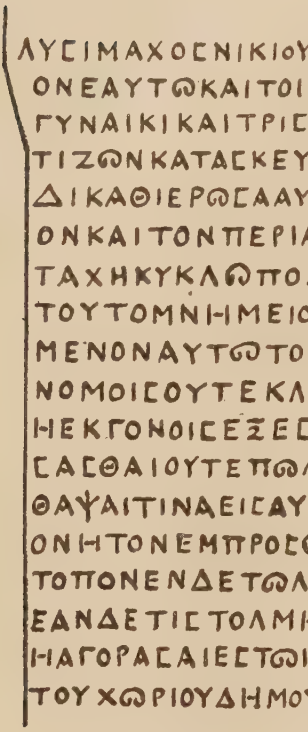
6. *Ibid.* *Stele* with a square top and a round pediment, in which is a relief of two eagles facing, perched on a dead hare. Outside the pediment there is a draped female figure on the right and a male on the left.

Ἀλέξαν[δ]ρος καὶ Ἀμμίας Ἀντέρωτι τέκνῳ
καὶ ἑ[αυτοῖς] ἔτι ζῶντες ἐτείμησαν μ[ν]ή[μ-
ης] χάριν. τίς τούτῳ μνήματι κακῶς
ποιήσ]ει, ἰς θεοὺς κατ[ηρ]αμένος ἤτω.

This formula of imprecation, which finds a parallel in epitaphs in the Phrygian language (Ramsay, *Jahresh. d. Oesterr. Instituts*, 1905, pp. 107-108), recurs in an inscription of Eïret (some hours S.E. of Altyn-Tash, on the *chaussée* to Afium Kara Hissar), which may be given here. It is engraved in two lines under a pointed pediment containing a relief of two eagles standing opposite each other with outstretched wings. The construction of ἐτείμησαν is due to the analogy of ἀνέστησαν. See p. 278.

7. τίς ἂν κακῶς ποήσι τούτῳ μνήματι, οὕτω[ς ἀώροις περι-
πέσοιτο]| συνφορα(ῖ)ς καὶ θεοῖς ἅπασι κατη(ρ)αμένος ἤτ[ω]. See R. in *Jahreshefte Oest. Inst.* (Beiblatt), 1905, p. 82.

8. Kyorz Keui (near Elmaly). Sepulchral *bomos*. Copied 1897 and revised 1898.

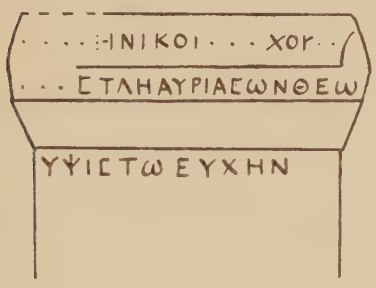



Λυσίμαχος Νικίου τόδε τ[ὸ μνημεῖον ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς προαπο[θανοῦσι γυναικὶ καὶ τρισὶν τέκνοις [ἰδίοις ἔτι ζῶν κατασκευάσας ἐν τ[ . . . .
δι, καθιέρωσα αὐτό τε τὸ [ἡρῷ-? ον καὶ τὸν περὶ αὐτὸ τόπο[ν παντα χῆ κύκλῳ ποδῶν ογ΄. α[ὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο μνημεῖον καὶ τὸν [περικείμενον αὐτῷ τόπον οὔτ[ε τοῖς συν?-
νόμοις οὔτε κληρονόμ[οις μου ἢ ἐκγόνοις ἐξέσται οὔτε [ἀγοράσασθαι οὔτε πωλῆσαι ὅ[λως? οὔτε θάψαι τινα εἰς αὐτό γε τὸ μ[νημεῖον ἢ τὸν ἔμπροσθε τοῦ μν[ημείου
τόπον· ἐν δέ τῳ λοιπῷ ἐξέ[σται· ἐὰν δέ τις τολμήσῃ πωλ[ῆσαι ἢ ἀγοράσαι, ἔστω ἡ μετο[υσία τοῦ χωρίου δήμου Ῥωμαί[ων.

5. The last letter seemed to be part of K ; but *κυμητήριον* (which would make the inscription Christian) is impossible. It is too long, and the epitaph is clearly non-Christian.

17 f. The concluding formula is peculiar. The final letter in l. 17 looked like the top of Λ or Δ or Α, but perhaps the appearance is due to the break in the stone. The preceding Η is certain and no restoration suggests itself but *μετουσία*. The meaning would be "the piece of ground shall become the property of the Roman people" ; *μετουσία* may bear the sense of "ownership," when applied to a number of individuals regarded collectively, as in Xen., *Cyrop.*, viii., 5, 23.

9. Arslan Apa (in Gireï Ova, the corner of plain north of the northern boundary of the Imperial estate). *Bomos* with a garland in relief below the inscription. Copied also by R., 1884.

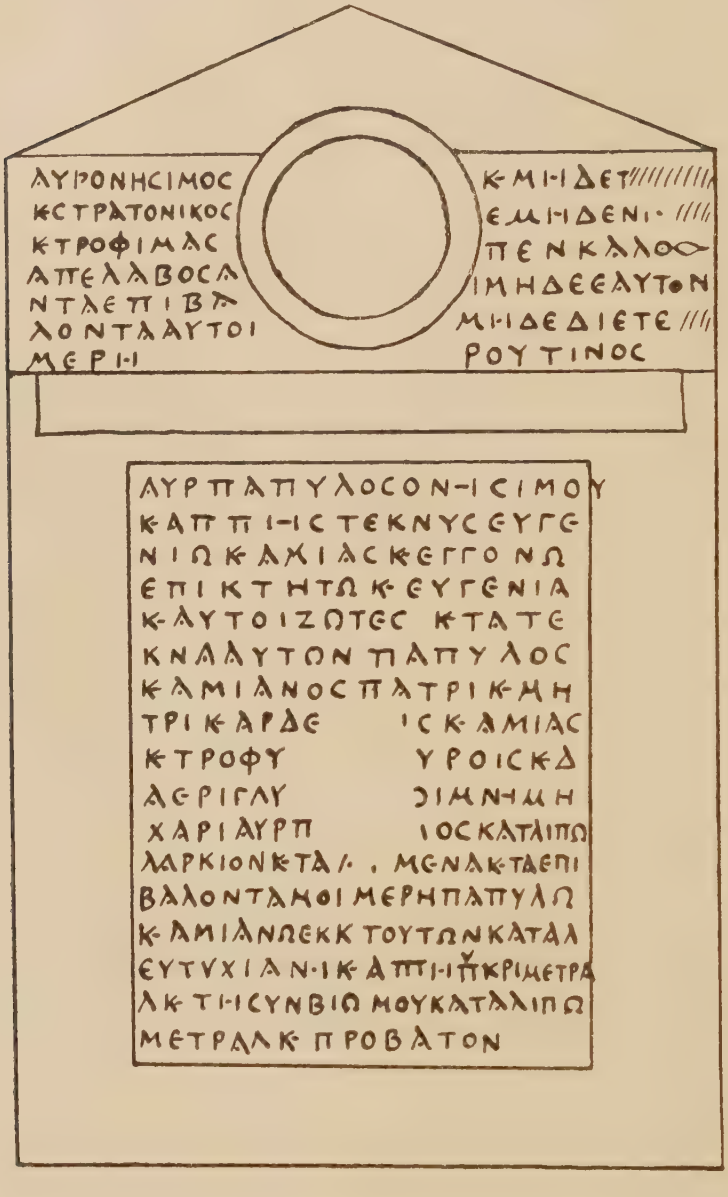



. . . . . .
Ἔτου]ς τλη΄· Αὐρ. Ἰάσων θεῷ ὑψίστῳ εὐχήν.

A.D. 253-4. By θεὸς ὕψιστος is here meant Zeus Benneus or Bennios, the native god of the district, whose priests, the Benneitai, are mentioned in another inscription in a neighbouring village (*C.I.G.*, 3857 *l*). The title of "the Most High God" was borrowed by the Phrygian and other native religions from Judaism, which exercised a profound influence on them. They still remained pagan, but the absorption of Biblical ideas paved the way for the rapid progress of Christianity in Asia Minor (*cf.* Cumont, *Hypsistos*, in *Revue de l'instruction publ. en Belgique*, 1897). The Cappadocian sect of Hypsistarii went further than others in the adoption of Jewish ideas, and they were perhaps already Christianised in the fourth century, when we first hear of them (from ecclesiastical opponents). *Cf.* Ramsay, *Expositor*, 1906, p. 35 f.

R. thought that Νικο[μά]χου, the name of Jason's father, omitted at first, had been added above as an afterthought (as often happens in these texts). I thought this was improbable, as there were other letters in l. 1 : these however may have been the month and day (which are often stated in Phrygian inscriptions).

10. Arslan Apa. Pointed *Stele.*



Αὐρ. Ὀνήσιμος κὲ Στρατόνικος κὲ Τροφιμᾶς ἀπελάβοσαν τὰ ἐπιβαλόντα αὐτοῖ(ς) μέρη· κὲ μηδε[ποτ]ε μηδενὶ [ἐ]πενκάλοι μηδὲ ἑαυτὸν μηδὲ δι' ἑτέρου τινος.

Αὐρ. Παπύλος Ὀνησίμου κὲ Ἄππης τέκνυς Εὐγενίῳ κὲ Ἀμίας κὲ ἐγγόνῳ Ἐπικτήτῳ κὲ Εὐγενίᾳ κὲ (ἑ)αυτοῖ(ς) ζῶ(ν)τες, κὲ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν Παπύλος κὲ Ἀμιανὸς πατρὶ κὲ μητρὶ κὲ Ἀρδε[μᾶς?] κὲ Ἀμίας κὲ Τρόφυ[μος ἑκ]υροῖς κὲ δαέρι γλυ[κυτάτ]οι(ς) μνήμη(ς) χάρι(ν). Αὐρ. Π[απύλ]ος κατ(α)λίπω λάρκιον κὲ τὰ [ἄρ]μενα κὲ τὰ ἐπιβαλόντα μοι μέρη Παπύλῳ κὲ Ἀμιανῷ· ἐκ<κ>τούτων καταλ(ίπω) Εὐτυχιανῇ κὲ Ἄππῃ πυ(ρο)κρῖ(?) μέτρα λ´ κὲ τῇ συνβίῳ μου καταλίπω μέτρα λ´ κὲ πρόβατον.

1. ἀπελάβοσαν is a form of the aorist which occurs in the Septuagint and is called by the grammarians Asiatic or Boeotian or Chalcidic.

2. This ungrammatical clause appears to mean, "and let no one make any further claim against anybody, either himself or through another".

11. Possibly πυ(ρο)κρῖ is equivalent to the Egyptian κριθοπυρός, explained by Mahaffy as a kind of corn combining the qualities of barley and wheat, "bearded wheat" (*Petrie Papyr.*, xxix., 11), but probably denoting a mixture of wheat and barley, which had been sown together (Wachsmuth, quoted by Grenfell and Hunt, *Fayûm Pap.*, 101, col. iii., 4); *cf.* ἄκριθος, applied to pure wheat.

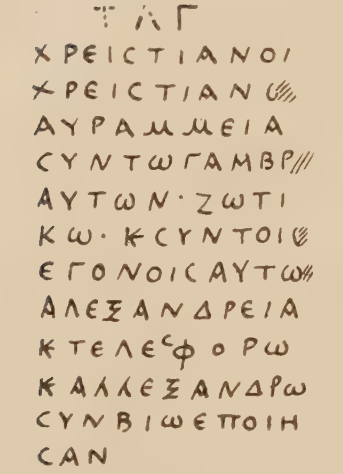
This quaint document, badly composed and carelessly engraved, is a will as well as an epitaph. The testator, Aur. Papylos, is the son of one of three brothers who had shared an inheritance, and he leaves his portion together with a chest and tools (perhaps farming implements) to his two surviving sons, 30 measures of mixed wheat and barley to two daughters (?), and 30 more together with a sheep to his wife! The estate was evidently very small.

The ancient remains at Arslan Apa and the surrounding villages Kusura, Gireï Bunarbashi, etc., are said to have come from an old site, called *Euren*, on the edge of the hills at the western end of the ridge on which stands the northern boundary stone of the Imperial estate. Only one or two stones are left on the site; the rest have been carried away to the neighbouring villages, which contain a

great number of ancient remains, many of them being architectural fragments belonging to the Byzantine period.

## CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

11. Kurd Keui. In the mosque. Copied also by R. 1884.

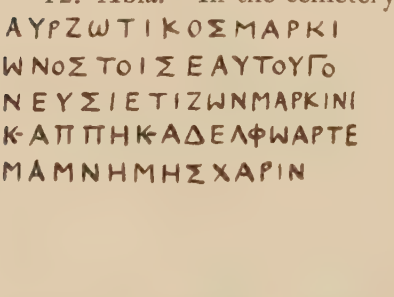



[τ]λγ′
Χρειστιανοὶ
Χρειστιαν[ῷ·
Αὐρ. Ἀμμεία
σὺν τῷ γαμβρ[ῷ
αὐτῶν Ζωτι-
κῷ κὲ σὺν τοῖς
ἐ(γ)γόνοις αὐτῶ[ν
Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ
κὲ Τελεσφόρῳ
κὲ Ἀλ<λ>εξάνδρῳ
συνβίῳ ἐποίησαν.

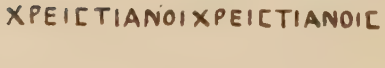
The date τλγ′, 333 = A.D. 248-249, is certain. Probably ἔτους was not engraved.

The lapidary omitted the husband's name and left out the first γ of ἐγγόνοις, while inserting a superfluous λ in the last name. Alexander is not the husband, but one of the grandchildren.

12. Abia. In the cemetery. Copied also by R. 1884.

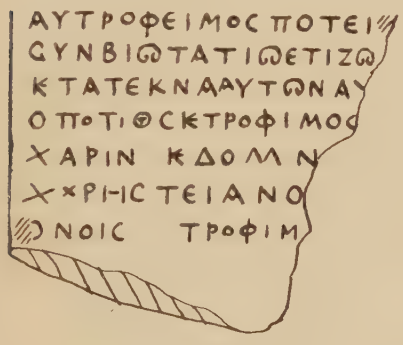



Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Μαρκί-
ωνος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γο-
νεῦσι ἔτι ζῶν Μαρκί(ω)νι
κὲ Ἄππῃ κὲ ἀδελφῷ Ἀρτε-
μᾷ μνήμης χάριν·
Χρειστιανοὶ Χρειστιανοῖς



The ungrammatical use of the plural in the closing formula indicates that the formula had already become stereotyped (*cf.* Ramsay, *Expositor*, 1888, p. 252). The simplicity of the style, the spelling Χρειστιανοί, and the character of the names show that the epitaph belongs to the same period as No. 11 ; it may be slightly later. The father bears the name of the second century heretic Marcion, and we remember that this district was in close connection with Kotiaïon, one of the chief centres of heresy in Phrygia.

13. Abia. In a house. Above the inscription is a relief representing two lions, each with a paw on an ox, in the conventional style common in North Phrygia.




Αὐ(ρ.) Τρόφειμος Ποτεί[του τῇ
συνβίῳ Τατίῳ ἔτι ζῶ[ν ἐποίησε,
κὲ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν Α[ὐρήλι-
ο(ι) Ποτῖτος κὲ Τρόφιμος [μνήμης
χάριν κὲ Δόμν[α νύνφη ?
Χρηστειανο[ῖ Χρηστει-
(α)νοῖς. Τροφιμ[ . . .

In spite of the bad spelling and careless engraving, this inscription does not appear to be much later than the preceding two.

6. Either the small X is a false insertion or the engraver omitted the word Χρηστειανοῖ, and by subsequently adding a second X intended the first to stand for the omitted word, in which case the beginning of l. 7 must be differently restored, *e.g.* [κὲ τοῖς ἐγγ]όνοις.

The name Poteitos, Latin *potitus*, "he who has obtained (salvation)," in Christian nomenclature, is not very common. It was also used in Pagan custom, as *e.g.*, of a magistrate on coins of Hadrianopolis in Phrygia Paroreios at the beginning of the third century.

14. Abia. From Ramsay's copy (1884). Below the inscription is a defaced relief.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑ ΡΟΥΦΕΙΝΑ ΤΡΟΦΙΜΟΥ
ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΩ ΑΝΔΡΙ
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΩ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩ ΔΟΜΝΗ
ΤΩ ΕΑΥΤΗC ΑΝΔΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙCΤΕ
ΚΝΟΙC ΚΥΡΙΛΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΒΕΡΟΝΕΙ
ΚΙΑΝΩ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΓΛΥ
///ΩΝΙΔΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΩ ΒΕΡΟΝΙΚΙΑ
ΝΩ ΜΝΗΜΗC ΧΑΡΙΝ ΕΠΟΙΗCΕΝ
CΥΝ ΤΩ ΕΑΥΤΗC ΥΙΩ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΩ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩ ΔΙC ΕΤΙ ΖΩΝΤΕC
ΧΡΕΙCΤΙΑΝΟΙ ΧΡΕΙCΤΙΑΝΟΙC

Αὐρηλία Ῥουφεῖνα Τροφίμου
γλυκυτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ
Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Δόμνῃ
τῷ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρὶ καὶ τοῖς τε-
κνοις Κυρίλλῃ καὶ Βερονει-
κιανῷ καὶ Αὐρηλίᾳ καὶ Γλυ-
κ]ωνίδι καὶ ἑτέρῳ Βερονικια-
νῷ μνήμης χάριν ἐποίησεν
σὺν τῷ ἑαυτῆς υἱῷ Αὐρηλίῳ
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὶς ἔτι ζῶντες,
Χρειστιανοὶ Χρειστιανοῖς.

4, 6. Βερονεικιανός (*cf.* Βερονίκη, No. 4) may have been suggested by *Acts* xxv. (*cf.* Ramsay, *l.c.*).

The more fully developed Christian nomenclature in this and the following inscription indicates a date somewhere later in the third century than the foregoing epitaphs. Yet here we have the spelling Χρειστιανός, while No. 13 has Χρηστειανός (see § iv.).

15. Gedjek. (*L.W.*, 785 = *C.I.G.*, 3857 *g* ; R. 1884.)
Αὐρ. Γλύκων Δημητρίᾳ συνβίῳ κὲ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν· κὲ τὰ τέκνα [α]ὐτῶν Εὐγένιος κὲ Δόμνα κὲ Παππίκιος κὲ Ὑ[πά]τιος κὲ Γλύκων κὲ Ζωτικῆς, Χρηστιανο[ὶ Χρηστ]ιανῇ.

Franz and Waddington read Πα[τρ]ίκιος, but the epigraphic copy shows Παππίκιος, a name which occurs twice in another early Christian inscription of Tchakirsaz, near Altyn-Tash, which is published in the present volume on p. 129. Ζωτικῆς for Ζωτική, as in No. 4, etc.

16. Altyn-Tash. *C.I.G.*, 3857 *t*, *L.W.*, 780. Repeated here, for the sake of comparison, from my copy.

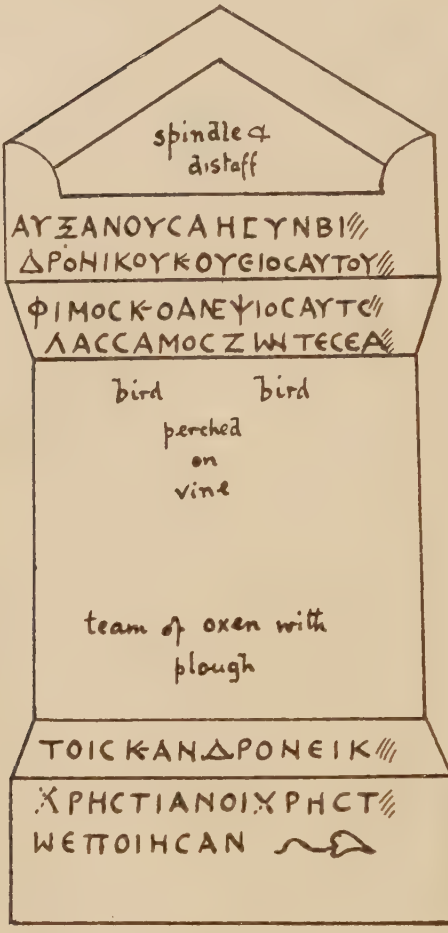
*Stele* with pointed pediment which contains a simple cross enclosed in a circle. The centre of the stone is occupied by three rude reliefs of women with hands clasped on bosom ; at the foot are represented tools (*outils de maçon*, Perrot, p. 126) and a spindle and ball.

Εὔφρων κὲ Τατίας Ἀσκληπιάδῃ
τέκνῳ κὲ ἑαυτοῖς ἔτι ζῶντες.
Ὀν[ήσι[μ]ος [κὲ . . .] ἀ[δελ]φ[οί ? . . .
. . . . . α]ὐτῶν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν
γονεῖς κὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν
ἐτείμησαν.

This inscription is in the South-Phrygian style and belongs to an earlier period than the class which openly professes Christianity. There is nothing at all to suggest the religion of the family, which is proved by the cross placed so inconspicuously that it escaped the notice of Le Bas. The lettering is of the style of No. 11, but rather better, and the inscription probably belongs to the first half of the third century.

Other examples of a cross placed in this inconspicuous way are known : see pp. 37 and 84 f. of the present volume. They are proofs that it was still necessary to conceal the religion, implying that Christianity was proscribed. A more conspicuous example on p. 143.

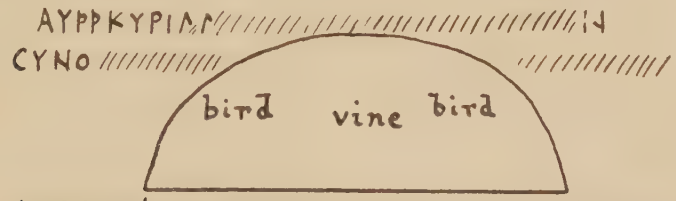
17. Altyn-Tash. *Stele* with pointed pediment in which are represented a spindle and distaff ; the main field is occupied by reliefs representing a bird perched on a vine (above) and a team of oxen with plough (below), and the inscription is arranged above and below it. (*C.I.G.*, 3857 *p* = *L.W.*, 783 ; R., 1884 ; A., 1897.) Illustration on p. 218.




Αὐξάνουσα ἡ σύνβι[ος Ἀν]δρονείκου κὲ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ [Τρό]φιμος κὲ ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτο[ῦ] Λάσσαμος ζῶντες ἑα[υ]τοῖς κὲ Ἀνδρονείκ[ῳ], Χρηστιανοὶ Χρηστ[ιαν]ῷ, ἐποίησαν.

The rare name *Lassamos* occurs at Kotiaïon, *C.I.G.*, 3827 *v.*, where the correct text is Ἀπολλώνιος κὲ Λάσαμος (Perrot, *op. cit.*, p. 120).

18. Altyn-Tash. Built into the window of the mosque. The letters are very small.




ΑΥΡCΤΕΦΑΝΩΠΑΤΡΙΤΩΕΑΥΤΩΝΠΡΕCΒΥΤΑΤΩ
ΕΝΝΟΜΩΟΥΡΑΝΙΟΥΒΑCΙΛΗΟC ΕΥCΕΒΕΙΗΝΕΡΙ
ΤΙΜΟΝΕΝΙΦΡΕCΙΝΑCΚΗCΑΝΤΙ ΖΗCΑΝΤΙΕΥΓΗ
ΡΩC ΧΑΡΙΝΜΝΗΜΗC ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ ΕΠΙΤΑΕΡ
ΜΙΟΝΗΛΟΧΩΚΥΡΙΑΚΟC ΓΔΥΚΥΤΑΤΗCΥΜΒΕΙΩ
ΕΥΓΗΩΜΟΝΙΠΑΡΑΠΑCΙΝ ΤΗΤΟΦΙΛΑΝΔΡΙΟΝ
CΤΕΜΜΑΑΠΕΝΕΝΚΑΜΕΝΗ ΚΟΝΛΟΤΑΤΗΜΟΙ
ΡΗΤΟΦΑΟCΠΡΟΛΙΠΟΥCΗ ΚΑΙΒΕΙΟΝΚΑΙΤΕΚΝ
ΑΤΑΦΙΛΟCΤΟΡΓΩCΑΝΕΘΡΕΨΕΝ

Implements

ΚΥΡΙΜΑΝCΤΕΦΑΝΟΝΑ ΖΑΝΔΡΟΝΗΠΙΑΕΤΙΝΥΝ
ΟΜΦΑΚΑΤΕΔΟΜΝΑΜΝΗΠΙΟΝΕΤΙΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΜΗΤΕΡΑΤΕΥCΤ
ΟΙΓΟΝΕΠΙΚΤΗCΙΝΕΓΝΗCΙΟΥCCΥΝΟΜΗΜΟΥC ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΝΑΝ
ΡΑΩΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΩCCΥΝΕΖΗCΕΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝΟΛΙΓΟΝΦΘΟΝΗ
ΘΕΝΤΑΥΠΟΜΟΙΡΗC ΑΝΘΩΝΚΑΛΩΝΜΝΗCΚΟΜΕ
ΝΟCΜΟΙΡΗΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΧΑΡΙΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΚCΥΜΒΙΩ

Αὐρ(ήλιοι) Κύριλ[λος καὶ Κυριακός . . .
*συνό-* [*μαιμοι*
Αὐρ. Στεφάνῳ πατρὶ τῷ ἑαυτῶν, πρεσβυτάτῳ
ἐννόμῳ οὐρανίου βασιλῆος, εὐσεβείην ἐρί-
τιμον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἀσκήσαντι, ζήσαντι εὐγή-
ρως χάριν μνήμης ἀνέθηκαν· ἔπιτα Ἑρ-

μιόνῃ ἀλόχῳ Κυριακός, γ(λ)υκυτάτῃ συμβείῳ
εὐγνώμονι παρὰ πᾶσιν, τῇ τὸ φιλάνδριον
στέμμα ἀπενενκαμένῃ, κον(δ)οτάτῃ μοί-
ρῃ τὸ φάος προλιποῦσῃ καὶ βείον καὶ τέκν-
α τὰ φιλοστόργως ἀνέθρεψεν,
Κύριλλαν Στέφανον Ἀ[λέξ]ανδρον νήπια ἔτι νῦν,
ὄμφακά τε Δόμναν νήπιον ἔτι πάντων, μητέρα τ᾽ εὔστ-
οργον Ἐπίκτησιν κὲ γνησίους συνομήμους, Κυριακὸν ἄν-
δ]ρα, ᾧ γλυκυτάτως συνέζησεν χρόνον ὀλίγον, φθονη-
θέντ[α] ὑπὸ μοίρης. ἀνθ᾽ ὧν καλῶν μνησκόμε-
νος μοίρῃ ἀνέθηκε χάριν πατρὶ κὲ συμβίῳ.

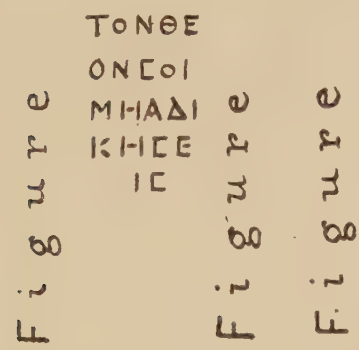
3. *πρεσβυτάτῳ ἐννόμῳ, κ.τ.λ.*, is a remarkable expression. *πρεσβύτατος* is probably an affected variation of *πρεσβύτερος* designed to enhance the dignity of the office and to indicate perhaps the venerable age of the deceased, "eldest of the elders". *ἔννομος* probably means lawfully, regularly appointed: *cf. τὸν σοφίης ἐμὲ διδάσκαλον ἔννομον* (in an inscription of Kurd Keui published above, p. 138), where *ἔννομος* designates the *official* character of his position as a teacher appointed by the community (*cf.* Perrot, *Explor.*, p. 129); and *ἔννομος ἐκκλησία* in *Acts* xix. 39, quoted by Dr. Sanday.

9. *κονδός*, or more correctly *κοντός*, is late Greek for *βραχύς*. Here it seems to be used in the sense of *ὠκύς*.

17. For *χάριν ἀνέθηκε*, see No. 20, l. 11.

This elaborate, semi-rhythmical epitaph belongs to a later date than the simple inscriptions preceding; but the style of the inscription and the character of the lettering and the names forbid us to place it later than the early fourth century.

19. Besh-Karish Eyuk. Copied also by R. 1884 (see *Expositor*, 1888, p. 256). *Stele* broken on the left and at the top, bearing reliefs of three women standing, with a bird beside the head of the right-hand figure. The main inscription, engraved below the reliefs, has perished. Between the left and central figure is inscribed in small good letters :—




τὸν θε-
ὸν σοὶ (*i.e.*, σὺ)
μὴ ἀδι-
κήσε-
ις.

20. Aï-Kuruk. *Stele* with letters engraved between incised lines.

ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΑΤΕΧΙϹΩϹΘ ΓΗ
ΝΗΝΑΝΔΡΑΠΟΘΗΤΟΝ
ΚΑΙΚΑΛΛΙΚΑΜΕΘΙΚΑΙϹΩ
ΦΡΟϹΥΝΗΔΕΜΑΛΙϹΤΑΤΟ
ΝΠΑϹΗϹΑΡΕΤΗϹΚΑΙΕΝ
ΑΝΔΡΕϹΙΚΥΔΟϹΕΧΟΝΤ
ΑΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑΕΤΩΝΕ
ΘΑΝΟΝΛΥΠΗϹΑΔΕΠΑ
ΝΤΑϹΚΑΙΠΕΝΘΕΡΟΥϹ
ΠΗϹΑΨΥΧΗΝΔΕΕΜΑΡΑ
ΑΓΥΝΗΚΟϹΜΕΤΑΗϹΤ
ΑΕΤΗϹΥΝΕΖΗϹΑΑΠΟ
ΗϹΕΝΤΕΚΝΟΝΕϹΧΟΝΟ
ΔΕΓΟΝΙϹΠΡΟΕΜΟΥΕΝ
ΘΑΔΕΚΙΝΤΗΑΛΕΞΑΝΔ
ΡΟϹΠΡΕϹΒΥΤΕΡΟϹΜΕΤΑ
ΤΗϹϹΥΝΒΙΟΥΑΠΠΗϹΚΑ
ΤΗϹΘΥΓΑΤΡΟϹΚΥΡΙΛΛΗϹ
ΚΑΙΤΗϹΕΓΓΟΝΗϹΔΟΜ
ΗϹΤΟΙϹϹΥΤΕΚΝΟΙϹϹΩ
ϹΘΑΚΑΙΔΟΜΝΗΚΑΙϹΩϹ
ΘΕΝΗΓΑΝΒΡΩΓΛΥΚΥΤΑ
ΤΩΕΠΟΙΑΙϹΑΝΧΑΡΙΝΧ
ΡΗϹΤΙΑΝΟΙΧΡΗϹΤΙΑΝΟ
ΤΟΝΘΕΟΝϹΟΙΑΝΑΓΝ
ΥϹΜΗΑΔΙΚΑΙϹΙϹ

Ἐνθάδε γῆ κατέχι Σωσθ[έ]νην ἄνδρα ποθητὸν
καὶ κάλλι καὶ με(γέ)θι καὶ σωφροσύνῃ δὲ μάλιστα,
τὸν πάσης ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐν ἄνδρεσι κῦδος ἔχοντα.
τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἔθανον, λύπησα δὲ πάντας,
καί πενθεροὺς [λύ]πησα, ψυχὴν δὲ ἐμάρα[ν]α γυνηκός,
μετὰ ἧς τ[ρί]α ἔτη συνέζησα, ἀπὸ ἧς ἓν τέκνον ἔσχον·
ο[ἳ] δὲ γονῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἐνθάδε κίντη.
Ἀλέξανδρος πρεσβύτερος μετὰ τῆς συνβίου Ἄππης κα[ὶ]
τῆς θυγατρὸς Κυρίλλης καὶ τῆς ἐγγόνης Δόμ[ν]ης τοῖς
συτέκνοις Σωσθᾷ καὶ Δόμνῃ καὶ Σωσθένῃ γανβρῷ
γλυκυτάτῳ ἐποίαισαν χάριν, Χρηστιανοὶ Χρηστιανο[ῖς]. τὸν
Θεὸν σοὶ (*i.e.* σὺ) ἀναγν[ο]ὺς μὴ ἀδικαίσις.

1 f. An epitaph of Altyn-Tash begins Ἐνθάδε γῆ κατέχει Θεοδώραν τὴν περί[βωτον]‖ καὶ κάλλι καὶ μεγέθι καὶ ἐμφροσύνῃ δὲ μάλιστα (*C.I.G.*, 3857 *u*, *L.W.*, 779, present volume, p. 119).

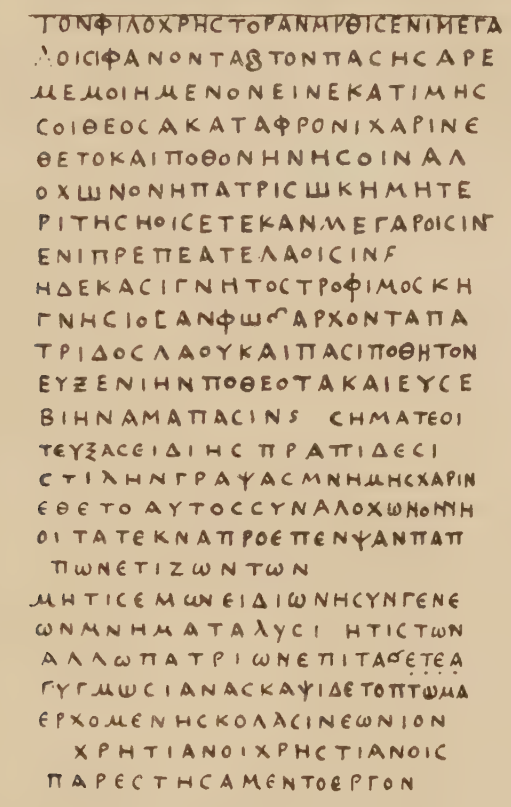
3. The same line occurs in an epitaph of Kara Agatch Euren, *Class. Rev.*, 1897, p. 137.

10. συτέκνοις = συντέκνοις, foster-children : the word is used of adopted children brought up together with the children of the adopters, *C.I.G.*, 2015.

11. The meaning of ἐποίησαν χάριν is more fully expressed in *C.I.G.*, 6207 (= Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 621), τὴν ἐπιτυμβίδιον τούτῳ θῆκεν χάριν ὃν τρέφε παῖδα. Compare also τεῦξε οἱ ἀγλαΐην in an epitaph from Nova Isaura, published above, p. 47.

There is great resemblance between the metrical Christian epitaphs of East and North Phrygia and of Lycaonia. The love of the Christians in those regions for long metrical epitaphs, especially during the fourth century, is quite remarkable. In Spain the Christian metrical epitaphs are common in the fifth and sixth centuries ; and so also in France, but they probably began there already in the fourth century.

21. Aï-Kuruk. *Stele* with a cross enclosed in a circle at the top.


ΤΟΝΦΙΛΟΧΡΗCΤΟΡΑΝΑΥΘΙCΕΝΙΜΕΓΑ
ΛΟΙCΙΦΑΝΟΝΤΑ ΤΟΝΠΑCΗCΑΡΕ
ΜΕΜΟΙΗΜΕΝΟΝΕΙΝΕΚΑΤΙΜΗC
CΟΙΘΕΟCΑΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΙΧΑΡΙΝΕ
ΘΕΤΟΚΑΙΠΟΘΟΝΗΝΗCΟΙΝΑΛ
ΟΧΩΝΟΝΗΠΑΤΡΙCΩΚΗΜΗΤΕ
ΡΙΤΗCΗΟΙCΕΤΕΚΑΝΜΕΓΑΡΟΙCΙΝ
ΕΝΙΠΡΕΠΕΑΤΕΛΑΟΙCΙΝ
ΗΔΕΚΑCΙΓΝΗΤΟCΤΡΟΦΙΜΟCΚΗ
ΓΝΗCΙΟCΑΝΦΩΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΠΑ
ΤΡΙΔΟCΛΑΟΥΚΑΙΠΑCΙΠΟΘΗΤΟΝ
ΕΥΞΕΝΙΗΝΠΟΘΕΟΤΑΚΑΙΕΥCΕ
ΒΙΗΝΑΜΑΠΑCΙΝ CΗΜΑΤΕΟΙ
ΤΕΥΞΑCΕΙΔΙΗC ΠΡΑΠΙΔΕCΙ
CΤΙΛΗΝΓΡΑΨΑCΜΝΗΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ
ΕΘΕΤΟΑΥΤΟCCΥΝΑΛΟΧΩΝΟΜΗ
ΟΙΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΠΡΟΕΠΕΝΨΑΝΠΑΠ
ΠΩΝΕΤΙΖΩΝΤΩΝ
ΜΗΤΙCΕΜΩΝΕΙΔΙΩΝΗCΥΝΓΕΝΕ
ΩΝΜΝΗΜΑΤΑΛΥCΙ ΗΤΙCΤΩΝ
ΑΛΛΩΠΑΤΡΙΩΝΕΠΙΤΑΦΕΤΕΑ
ΓΥΓΜΩCΙΑΝΑCΚΑΨΙΔΕΤΟΠΤΩΜΑ
ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΗCΚΟΛΑCΙΝΕΩΝΙΟΝ
ΧΡΗΤΙΑΝΟΙΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟΙC
ΠΑΡΕCΤΗCΑΜΕΝΤΟΕΡΓΟΝ

Τὸν φιλοχρήστοραν αὖθις ἐνὶ μεγά[λ]οισι φαν(έ)ντα,
τὸν πάσης ἀρε(τῆς) μεμοιημένον, εἵνεκα τιμῆς
σοὶ Θεὸς ἀκαταφρονι χάριν ἔθετο καὶ πόθον ηνη
σοὶν ἀλόχῳ Νόνῃ πατρὶ σῷ κὴ μητέρι τῇ σῇ,
οἵ σ᾽ ἔτεκαν μεγάροισιν ἐνιπρεπέα τε λαοῖσιν,·
ἠδὲ κασίγνητος Τρόφιμος κὴ γνήσιος ἄνφω
ἄρχοντα πατρίδος λαοῦ καὶ πᾶσι ποθητόν,
εὐξενίην ποθέο(ν)τα? καὶ εὐσεβίην ἅμα πᾶσιν.
σῆμά τέ οἱ τεύξας εἰδίης πραπίδεσι στίλην γράψας μνήμης

χάριν ἔθετο αὐτὸς σὺν ἀλόχῳ Νόννῃ, οἳ τὰ τέκνα προέπεμψαν
πάππων ἔτι ζώντων. μήτις ἐμῶν εἰδίων ἢ συνγενέων
μνήματα λύσι, ἤ τις τῶν ἀλλωπατρίων ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα
ἐρη]μώσι, ἀνασκάψι δὲ τὸ πτῶμα, ἐρχομένης κόλασιν
ἐώνιον. Χρη(σ)τιανοὶ Χρηστιανοῖς παρεστήσαμεν τὸ ἔργον.

1. The addition of *ν* to the accus. of nouns of the third declension is frequent in this and other districts (*cf.* Waddington on No. 817 ; above, pp. 60, 132, 153).

The rest of the line is obscure. Does it mean "appeared again among the mighty (beatified dead)" ? *μύθις* = *μύθοις* is possible.

3. *ἀκαταφρονι* perhaps means *ἀκαταφρόνη(τον)* or *ἀκαταφρονήτῳ*. *ηνη* is unintelligible to me.

5. *τε* is constructed like *καὶ*, as in No. 7, p. 125 (above), l. 6 ; 3, l. 7, etc.

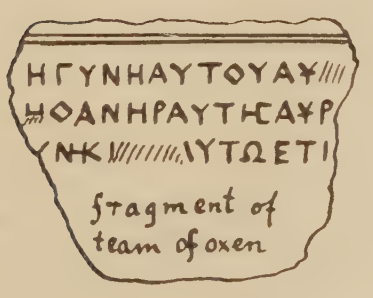
12. The construction entirely vanishes : perhaps the meaning is *ὡς ἐρχομένης κολάσεως αἰωνίου*.

This inscription, which should be compared with the legend on the tombstone of Aquila (see above, p. 125, No. 7), is the epitaph of a local bishop, whose name is strangely omitted. It is poorly composed, but the final formula indicates that it is quite as early as, if not earlier than, the epitaph of Aquila. Both belong to the close of the third century or early years of the fourth. In both the phraseology is elastic, showing no trace of the stereotyped rigidity of post-Constantine inscriptions (see p. 201, note ‡).* The description of the pastoral office, *ἄρχων πατρίδος λαοῦ* (on *πατρίς* see above, p. 195), is a variation of *λαοῦ προστάμενος* in the other. *Προϊστάμενος* or *προεστώς* and *ἡγούμενος* are the terms regularly used in the early centuries to describe the office of leader of a Christian community. The virtue of "kindly hospitality to strangers" (*εὐξενίη*, l. 12) was emphasised by the early Church (*cf. Expositor*, 1905, p. 444 f.). The new word *ἀλλ(ο)πάτριοι*, with which may be compared such formations as *ἀλλοφρήτωρ*, "member of another *phratry*," *ἀλλόγλοσσος*, *peregrinus*, etc. (van Herwerden, *Lex. Suppl.*), probably means *ξένοι*, aliens, in the sense of pagans.

* But the exclusiveness of *ἀλλοπάτριοι* is later than Diocletian.

22. Aï-Kuruk. Tablet a little broken to right and left and in parts covered with lime ; the style of the letters (which are engraved between incised lines) points to the third century.

///ΕΙCΟΡΑΑCΤΥΜΒ////ΙΙΑΡΟΔΟΙCΕΠΙCΗΜΑCΙ//ΕΙ
//ΟΝΤΕΥΧΕΙΠΑΤΡΙΚΙC ΠΕΡΙΚΑΛΛΕΙΤΗΔΕCΥΝΕ
///ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΔΙΠΙΝΥΤΗΠΟΛΥΓΗΘΕΑCωΦΡΟCΥΝ
///ΟΥΠΑΕΙCΤΟΝΑΡΙΘΜΟΝΕΤΕωΝCΥΝΖΗCΑCΑΜΕ
////ΛΛΑΠΟΥΔΕΚΕΤΗΠΟΛΗΦΙΛΙΗΔΙΑΚΑΛΟC
///ΗΘΟCΗΔΕΤΡΟΠΟΥCΚΑΙΕΥΓΕΝΕΙΗCΕΝΕΚΕCΘΑΗ//
//ΜΟΥΝΟΝΤΕΞΑΜΕΝΗΝΦΙΛΙΟΝΤΕΚΟCΕΝΘΑΛΑΜΟΙC///
///ΥΝΟΜΑΤΗΝΤΡΟΦΙΜΗΝΕΤΕΝΜΕΛΑΘΡΟΙCΚΑΛΕC//
//ΚΑΙΑΕΙΠΕΙΤΗΝΔΕΜΟΝΗΝΠΑΡΗΓΟΡΙΗΝΠΑΤΡΙΧΗΡ////
///ΗCΕΚΥΡΟCΤΡΟΦΙΜΟCΔΟΜΝΗCΥΝΕΗΤΕCΥΝΕΥΝ/////
////<ΥΡΙΜΟC ΤΕΔΑΗΡΥΜΝΟΥCCΕΜΝΟΥCΑΝΑΠΕΜΠ//////
////ΤΗΡΤΗΝΔΕΤΙΚΑΙΝΥΝCΤΕΝΕΙΤΡΟΦΙΜΗΠΟΛΥ<////
//////////ΤΡΙΚΙCCΥΝΟΜΑΙΜΟCΑΜΑΔΙCCΑΙΤΕΦΙΛΑΙΤΕ //
//////////////ΟΙΚΥΡΙΛΛΑΚΑΙΑΓΡΙΠΠΕΙΝΑΧΑΡΙΝΑΥΤΗC ///
/////////////ΜΙ////ΙΕΟΤΗΤΟCΗ//ΛΑΓΛΑΙΗΙΑΠΟΔΟΥΕ ////
////ΠΡΟΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΝΕΕΤ///
////ΔΕΙCΔΕΔΥΝΗΤΑ///
/////Η/////




15

Εἰσοράᾳς τύμβ[ον π]α[ρ]όδοις ἐπὶ σήμασι, [ξ]εῖ[νε,
ὃν τεύχει Πατρίκις περικαλλεῖ τῇδε συνε[ύνῃ
Ἀντιοχίδι πινυτῇ πολυγηθέα σωφροσύν[ῃ τε,
οὐ πλεῖστον ἀριθμὸν ἐτέων συνζήσας ἀμέ[μπτως
ἀ]λλά που δέκ᾽ ἔτη πολλῇ φιλίῃ διὰ κάλλος
ἦθος ἠδὲ τρόπους καὶ εὐγενείης ἕνεκ᾽ ἐσθλῆ[ς,
μοῦνον τεξαμένην φίλιον τέκος ἐν θαλάμοισ[ιν
οὔνομα τὴν Τροφίμην ἔτ᾽ ἐν μελάθροις καλέσ[ασαν,
καὶ [λ]είπει τήνδε μόνην παρηγορίην πατρὶ χηρ[ῷ.
ἧς ἔκυρὸς Τρόφιμος Δόμνῃ σὺν ἑῇ τε συνεύν[ῃ
Κύριλλός τε δαὴρ ὕμνους σεμνοὺς ἀναπέμπ[ει.
μή]τηρ τήνδ᾽ ἔτι καὶ νῦν στένει Τροφίμη πολύθ[ρηνος
καὶ Πα]τρίκις συνόμαιμος ἅμα δισσαί τε φίλαι τε
πάρθεν]οι Κύριλλα καὶ Ἀγριππεῖνα χάριν αὐτῆς
τῆς μνή]μη[ς ν]εότητος ἠ[δ᾽] ἀγλαίη[ς . . .
. . . ὃ] προκείμενόν ἐ[σ]τ[ι
. . . οὐ]δεὶς δὲ δύνηται

A fragment apparently of the same, which does not fit on :—

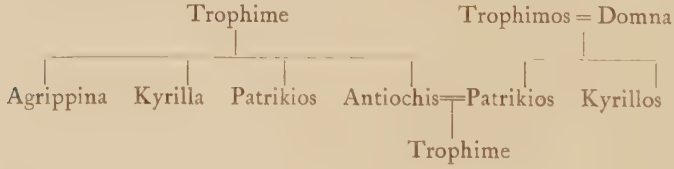
. . . ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Αὐ[ρ . . .
. . . κ]ὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς Αὐρ . . .
. . . γυ]νηκὶ [κὴ ἑα]υτῷ ἔτι [ζῶν . . .

1. *παρόδοις* appears to be used for *παροδίοις*.

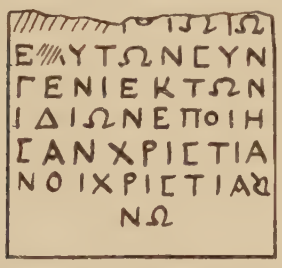
3. The accusative follows the dative ungrammatically and the construction is carried on in l. 7 ff. Such confusion of cases is a characteristic feature of Asia Minor epitaphs.

11. The "sending up of holy hymns" probably refers to some service for the dead (or perhaps a burial service). *Cf. Expositor*, 1906, p. 157.

The relationship is :—



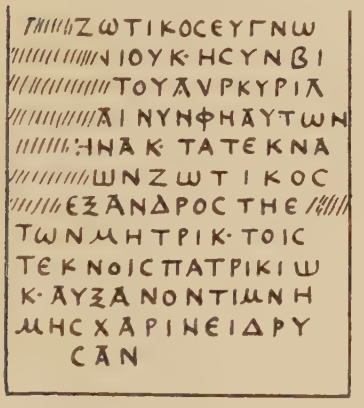
23. Kuyudjak. Rectangular block with simple moulding.



. . . ῳ [τ]ῷ
ἑ[α]υτῶν συν-
γενῖ ἐκ τῶν
ἰδίων ἐποίη-
σαν, Χριστια-
νοὶ Χριστια-
νῷ.

The simplicity of the style of this fragment and the character of the lettering point to the third century. The spelling Χριστιανός is found not far away at Ushak in an inscription dated A.D. 278-9 (*C.B.*, 444 = *L.W.*, 727).

24. Zemme. In the cemetery.



Αὐρ.] Ζωτικὸς Εὐγνω-
μο]νίου κὲ ἡ σύνβι-
ος αὐ]τοῦ Αὐρ. Κύριλ-
λα κ]αὶ νύνφη αὐτῶν
Νάν?]να κὲ τὰ τέκνα
αὐ]τῶν Ζωτικὸς
κὲ Ἀλ]έξανδρος τῇ ἑ[αυ-
τῶν μητρὶ κὲ τοῖς
τέκνοις Πατρικίῳ
κὲ Αὐξάνοντι μνή-
μης χάριν εἵδρυ-
σαν.

5. The letter before NA is uncertain: it may be H.

The combination of favourite Christian names, Zotikos, Eugnomonios, Cyrilla, Alexander, Patrikios and Auxanon,[1] leaves little doubt as to the religion of the family, which however is carefully veiled: *cf.* No. 16 and probably No. 4.

The lettering points to the third century, and the character of the nomenclature to the later decades of that century.

VII.

# PRELIMINARY REPORT TO THE WILSON TRUSTEES ON EXPLORATION IN PHRYGIA AND LYCAONIA.

W. M. RAMSAY.

# PRELIMINARY REPORT TO THE WILSON TRUSTEES

ON

# EXPLORATION IN PHRYGIA AND LYCAONIA.

As this is the last Preliminary Report which I shall have occasion to address to the Trustees, I desire to thank them for having in the absence of any applicant junior in standing offered the Fellowship to me during the years 1904 and 1905, and thus made it possible to carry on the exploration of the country, when otherwise it would have been out of my power to do so. I hope and feel confident that the Fellowship will produce good work in the hands of a succession of applicants among our junior graduates; and it is quite possible that I may be able to co-operate with them actively in the country, and not merely by advice from a distance as to method and region.

I have the honour to submit several parts of the fuller Report, on the work of the Fellowship, published in the Austrian *Jahreshefte*, 1905, the *Classical Review*, 1905, and the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1905, and to add that the crown has been placed on the Research work done during my tenure of the Fellowship by the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, London, which on 27th March awarded me the Victoria Research Gold Medal "for the eminent services which you have rendered to Geography during your work in Asia Minor".* While History was the principal and guiding motive of my exploration, I have been always keenly alive to the close relation between History and Geography, to the influence exercised by natural conditions on the development of human society and life, and, in short, to the Geographical basis on which the study of

* Later, the University of Pennsylvania Gold Medal for Archæological Research.

History must rest. My work, originating from Fellowships in the University of Oxford, continued recently by a Fellowship in the University of Aberdeen, and applying always the principles of University teaching, as I understood them, to practical exploration in geography and topography, has enjoyed from the beginning onwards the cordial sympathy and the powerful support of the Royal Geographical Society, London.

The following report is worked up from letters published in *The Athenæum*. Several topics which are treated here are not likely to be more fully treated by the writer for some years; and it seems therefore advisable to discuss them here even in a provisional way, and thus place the results of exploration before the world of scholars. Also, it is a not unworthy object to show the great variety and number of the problems that confront the explorer.

During the journey of 1905 it was our good fortune to discover evidence solving on the spot a larger number of historical problems than in any previous journey. Not that the finds were in themselves imposing, but the problems had been previously carried to such an advanced stage that even a slight piece of evidence was sufficient to give the final solution. We reached Smyrna in the latter part of April, and went up the Ottoman Railway to the terminus at Dineir, helped by the courtesy and scientific spirit of the general manager, Mr. Barfield. Our plan was, first of all, to go direct from Dineir, the ancient Apameia-Celænæ, to Konia (Iconium), with the intention of searching for evidence on several historical questions, and of studying more carefully the situation and remains of Pisidian Antioch. This road is one of the most familiar and frequently traversed in the whole of Asia Minor, and it could not be expected that monuments of any importance should have remained undiscovered on it until 1905. I had avoided it in previous journeys, as being too trite and well known. Only in 1882 I went along the whole line under Sir Charles Wilson's leadership. Parts of the road I had seen in later years, especially in

1886. Yet even on this oft-trodden road we found far more than we had ventured even to hope for.

## I. SMYRNA TO APOLLONIA.

We spent two days in Ephesus acquiring information needed to complete a study of the relation between the worship of Artemis and the worship of the Virgin Mother of God in Christian times. This study was published in *The Expositor*, June and August, 1905.

Our visit to Apameia-Celænæ was disappointing; there has been little building and little or no discovery since our last visit in 1891. We spent one day, copied a few unimportant inscriptions, and prepared for the journey to Konia. I was eager to see once more the two fountains, the Laughing and the Weeping (described first in *The Athenæum*, 19th August, 1891, p. 233, and more fully in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii., 407). It is strange that this extremely interesting pair of fountains escaped the notice of all travellers till 1891. More than a score of professional explorers had examined the rivers of Apameia. The Laugher alone had been seen by almost every visitor, but not recognised, as a pair of fountains had to be found. My aim now was to learn whether the Weeper is permanent; the Laugher is a much larger and unvarying stream, whose bright rippling flow is clearly audible fifteen yards away. As before, we had to stoop down to the under edge of the low rock from beneath which the Weeper flows out of a very small low-roofed chamber. The low melancholy murmur of the water can be heard when one bends down to the mouth of the tiny chamber; but this year the peculiar sound, like sobs occurring at short intervals, which was the most noteworthy feature in 1891, could not be heard. This sound is produced by air struggling with the water in a low passage, and would cease to be heard if the water either sank too low to touch the roof at any point, or were so high that it filled the passage completely. It was evident that the water must vary in height. A small shepherd boy informed us that the

fountain was called Zem-zem, because it always ceased to flow in the summer and went on pilgrimage to Mecca. Desirous of having more evidence as to the variation of the water, I asked also an old shepherd, whom we met a few yards away on our return. He declared that the water had failed in 1904 for the first time in his experience. The discrepancy between the two accounts illustrates the difficulty of getting trustworthy evidence from the report of natives. The first tale told to the traveller may be quite incorrect; but if he is content with the evidence of one witness, the false story may pass into literature and become a permanent stumbling-block, for the stories that have once found footing in literature are afterwards reproduced unquestioningly.

We were fortunate in finding a group of three milestones on the way to Apollonia, eight miles from that city. One contains the name of the governor of the province Galatia in A.D. 198, C. Atticius Strabo, proving definitely that Apollonia (also *a fortiori* Pisidian Antioch) was in that province at least as late as 198, which practically means that both cities were Galatian until the reorganisation by Diocletian about A.D. 295. This is admitted, indeed, by Marquardt, the accepted authority, but only in a half-hearted way, for he adopts Waddington's opinion that during the third century people in Apollonia dated according to the era of the province Asia (which would be impossible, if the city had been included in the province Galatia in that century). We now see that the dated Apollonian inscription on which Waddington's opinion rested must be counted from the era of the province Galatia. It speaks of the country and city as Galatian, and the date is equivalent to A.D. 222, so that it confirms, and is confirmed by, the newly discovered milestone. There was never any reason why this plain dating and the evident inference from it should not have been accepted, except the deep-seated reluctance to believe that Galatia could have been extended so far as to include Antioch and Apollonia There lies the root of the evil: when once a strong misapprehension

as to the Roman provincial organisation is established, the historical view is distorted, and the judgment is misled on other questions apparently quite unconnected.

## II. THE DEFEAT OF MANUEL AND THE THIRD CRUSADE.

Our way now coincided with the line of march which had been followed by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus in 1176, and by Frederick Barbarossa in 1190; indeed, that was the reason why we took this route. We traversed the valley of Apollonia from the watershed down to the great lake called Limnai, into which its river flows, then proceeded along the northern shore of the Limnai, and from its north-eastern end turned away in an easterly direction up the pass to Pisidian Antioch. This pass was called in Byzantine times the Kleisoura Tzybritzi, and it was the scene of the great battle in which the splendid army of Manuel Comnenus was utterly defeated by the Seljuk Turks of Konia. It was this battle that decided the fate of Asia Minor, putting an end to the gradual revival of the Byzantine power under the able John Comnenus and his brave, but too rash, son Manuel. Never was a battle in which it was more clearly shown that superiority in arms and personal prowess cannot compensate for carelessness in the general. The Byzantine army contained the finest troops of the empire, and a large body of Varangians and other soldiers of Western and Northern Europe, the best fighting material in the world; it was armed in a style far superior to the lightly equipped Turks; it was highly trained and accustomed to victory. Manuel had shown his personal courage and learnt the art of war in many Turkish campaigns, under his father's tuition and in his own thirty-four years' reign. He had led an army right across Asia Minor within sight of Konia, the Seljuk capital; and he knew how unfit a Turkish army was to face in fair combat such an army as he could command. Now, as the consummation of two generations of war, persistently carried on by his father and fitfully by himself, he found himself with all the best forces of the

empire at the north-east end of the Limnai, ready to enter the pass that leads to Antioch and Iconium. Before him, as he lay in the low ground by the lake, which is about 3,000 feet above sea-level, stretched towards the east a pass, broad and very gently sloping, bounded on the south by a ridge of mountains about 5,000 feet high, which rises sharp and precipitous from the level ground; the pass is about one-third of a mile broad (as I guessed looking across it from the northern side), perfectly level, with a small river flowing down the centre; on the north side undulating hills, gently rising from the level, stretch back about three miles to a long range of mountains (Kara-Kush-Dagh) about 6,000 feet high, running south-west and north-east above the Apollonia valley and the Limnai towards the great central range of Phrygia Paroreios (now called Sultan Dagh, over 7,000 feet high). One or other of those three ranges was called in ancient times Olympos. This description, which I wrote on the spot, is almost a translation of Nicetas's description of the Kleisoura. It has only to be added that, as he says, the hills or undulating rising ground on the north side are intersected by broad glens.

The pass, called the Tzybritzi Kleisoura, was known to be occupied by the Turks. They could not hide themselves on those treeless, open, grassy slopes; and Manuel saw them with his own eyes, as Nicetas says, having previously been informed that they were preparing to defend the pass. But confident in his army and contemptuous of his enemy, he marched on into the pass, just as if he were traversing a level and undefended country, soldiers and baggage intermingled in the column. The vanguard, more ready for fighting, and not mixed up with baggage or overcrowded, easily pushed back the Turks from the low northern hills, and forced their way through to the eastern end. The main body of the army, more encumbered and crowded, marched more slowly, and was separated from the vanguard; the Turks from the mountains then seized the opportunity, charged down from the mountains on the

disordered army, and broke the ranks. Baldwin, son of the Norman Prince of Antioch and brother-in-law of the emperor, vainly attempted, by a desperate charge with a handful of cavalry, to drive back the Turks; he perished with his small troop; and this calamity encouraged the assailants and struck panic into the Byzantine main body, which was now a mere mob, so densely crowded that the soldiers could hardly raise their hands and weapons, jammed against and among the baggage. The rest was a massacre. Courage and energy might still have saved the day; but there was no leading. Manuel had lost his wits and his courage. Thirty-four years of flattery and empire had frittered away his moral power and deteriorated his nerve. Only through the chance that the Turks did not understand the completeness of their own victory was he allowed on the following day to conclude an inglorious peace, and withdraw the shattered relics of his great army. The unconquered vanguard marched back through the pass, within view of the enemy, who now began to realise what a victory they had gained and to repent of the arrangement that permitted the remnant to escape; and some of them attacked the retreating Byzantine troops, inflicting further loss on them.

Unfortunately I had not taken Nicetas with me; and my recollection of his account was inaccurate. I thought that the battle had been fought in a narrow pass, in which a concealed enemy had attacked an unexpectant army. As that could not have happened in the open country near the Limnai, I actually came to the conclusion that the battle must have been fought elsewhere, and directed the rest of our route to Konia for the purpose of finding the scene of the battle. But when I came home I found that the description of the locality, which I wrote on the spot to show that this pass was not the scene, was exactly what Nicetas describes. Had Nicetas been in my hands, we should probably have been able to fix by precise measurement the localities, the seven glens, and the spot where the vanguard spent the night after the massacre.

In 1885 I wrote in *The American Journal of Archæology* an article attempting to fix the site of Khoma (from which Manuel's advance was made) and the scene of the battle; but though right about Khoma, I wrongly placed the battle too far west, in the pass immediately in front of that fortress, misled by the modern name of the pass, Turrije, which seemed to preserve the ancient name Tzybritzi. Some years afterwards the view stated by Prof. Tomaschek showed that I had erred; and then, in reading the narratives by eye-witnesses of Barbarossa's crusade and their description of the scene of Manuel's defeat, I saw that the battle was fought in the pass leading up from the Limnai. The error was acknowledged, and the scene inferred rightly from Barbarossa's route, in *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii., 346, and the locality is correctly shown on the map of Central Phrygia in that volume. But while I profited much by Prof. Tomaschek's arguments, I could not accept his views as to the locality (which he places too far to the north-east), and renewed examination of the localities proves that he was wrong; the pass which he selects (I crossed it in 1883) runs north and south, but the pass which Nicetas describes runs east and west.

### III. THE IMPERIAL ESTATES AT PISIDIAN ANTIOCH.

In the low ground near the Limnai, before entering the pass, we found a very large basis with a Greek inscription recording a dedication by a slave Nilus *negotiator* and the village Karbokome. Occupying such an important position as to take precedence of the village assembly, Nilus must have been a slave of the emperor, stationed at Karbokome in charge of an imperial estate. Forthwith it became evident that the estate was part of the territory which formerly belonged to the great temple of Men Askainos at Antioch, and passed into the possession of Augustus in B.C. 25. I had long been looking for traces of that vast estate, and here at last it was presented to me. Such discoveries always throw light

on other unsorted and unarranged fragments of knowledge. A series of long inscriptions found in this neighbourhood, but nearer to Antioch, has been known for twenty years: the first and longest I published in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* in 1883. The character of this series now becomes clear. They all belong to the third century after Christ. Each consists, apart from a mutilated exordium, of a long series of names and donations in money; to each person's name is attached the name of the village to which he belonged, and one of the villages was Karbokome. Now, not far away, the Milyadic imperial estates show a similar series of names and donations; from that series I have reconstructed the history of those estates, with the genealogy of a branch of the imperial family, during a century, and the page of history restored in this way has been accepted by the recent authorities on the administration of the imperial estates, Schulten, Rostowzew, etc. The Antiochian estates furnish a similar series of inscriptions, and the history of the estates ought to be recoverable from those documents.

Two hours further on, near the other end of the pass, we reached the village where Sir Charles Wilson and I found the first inscription of the series in 1882; and there we halted for the night. In the village, in front of the mosque, lay a broken column, of the same peculiar shape as the one containing the long inscription. On the upper side were no letters, but, when we rolled it over, the whole under side was covered with an inscription of the same class, as was evident at a glance. Though the sun was already setting, I at once set to work to copy it. It is a golden rule never to postpone work when dealing with the Turks; any one of a score of possible events might deny us the opportunity of doing anything on the morrow. I copied until the last ray of light faded, devoting attention chiefly to the important matters and the parts that were best preserved; the fainter portions demanded stronger light. Before darkness stopped me I had copied all the best of the forty lines. Next morning, soon after sunrise, I was again at work unimpeded. But already

on the previous evening the most important piece of information had been discovered, disclosing the nature and meaning of the lists, and the meaning of the strange name applied to the donors of money. The name had been discovered by Prof. Sterrett, who found many more lists in 1885. The persons mentioned were Xenoi Tekmoreioi, Tekmoreian Guest-friends. My friend Prof. Sterrett considered this name to be topographical, and marked on his map a town, Tekmoreion. On the other hand, I conjectured, in my *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 411, that Tekmor was the old poetic Greek word meaning "sign," and that these Xenoi were members of a society which in some religious ceremony showed a mystic sign in proof of their character. Dr. Ziebarth and Dr. Judeich in Germany both declared it impossible to accept my view, as the old poetic term Tekmor could not be alive in the third century after Christ. My contention was that this old poetic word was reintroduced in the artificial Phrygian Greek of the third century. The new inscription confirms my view, and gives us a new verb as well as the adjective, derived from Tekmor. A certain Lucius is mentioned as having "shown the sign twice," τεκμορεύσας δίς. This hitherto unknown verb was invented to express the act from which the society derived its name. The act was, beyond all question, something of religious character; the inscriptions make that certain, for they are all religious in type. But this act must have been an invention of the late period to which the inscriptions belong; had it been an old religious act it would not have called for the invention of a new word. Now the religion of the Xenoi was a union of the old Phrygian worship with the cult of the emperors; the inscriptions show this clearly. The new element, the showing of the Tekmor, must have been added to the old Phrygian mystic ritual as an act connected with the imperial cult; and as the one end and aim of that cult was to give strength and religious basis to the loyalty of all subjects, the Tekmor must have been a symbolic act declaring the loyalty of the celebrant to the emperor.

On all those imperial estates dedications on behalf of the emperor and his household are common and characteristic; and it is now one of the points needing investigation how far one special form of such dedications was peculiar to the inhabitants of such estates. At any rate, those inhabitants were in a special degree bound to the service of the emperor; they were not exactly his slaves or serfs, but out of them developed the serfs of the Dark Ages. In ancient Roman society slaves were the most devoted and trusted of servants; and in proportion as the population of the estates approximated more to serfdom than the citizens of self-governing cities, so they were more attached and devoted to the imperial service. They were the descendants of the slaves of the god Men Askainos. The Roman State was very careful not to interfere with established conditions of society, where those conditions were not politically dangerous; and just as they always retained the Egyptian fellahin in the same condition of almost slavery which they had occupied towards the kings of old, so there is every reason to think that the people on the Antiochian estates were similarly kept in a condition not materially changed from their old service to the god. Among them, and in close relation to their peculiar connection with the imperial service, developed this institution of the Tekmor, on which there is still a great deal more to say if space permitted; and I hope to treat it in another article in this volume.

Pisidian Antioch has been too often described to need mention here. It either requires a whole paper to itself, or it must be left in silence.

## IV. THE IMPERIAL ROAD TO LYSTRA.

Another piece of work before us was to trace the "Imperial Road" from the colony Antioch to the colony Lystra. This was the way by which St. Paul travelled when Onesiphorus, in the legend of Thekla, came forth from Iconium to meet him. Milestones fix the line of the road as far as Tiberiopolis-Pappa in the

Orondian mountains ; and natural features leave no doubt that it went on through a long narrow defile, Baghirsak-Dere, which leads from Pappa to the valley of Kizil-Euren. In this high valley was situated the Byzantine bishopric Sinethandos, eight hours from Konia. Here all trace of the road disappears. The doubt remained whether the "Imperial Road" went on eastwards by the north side of Mount Loras along the line of the modern road (in which case it must have gone first to Iconium and then turned south to Lystra), or turned south and followed some unknown route across the hilly country on the south-west of the mountain. The former route would necessitate very serious modification of the views which I have published regarding the Thekla legend, whereas the latter would suit well, and make it possible to complete and improve greatly what I had written. From the village I hired two horses, and started, under the guidance of a villager, to explore the hilly country, leaving the others to make some search and take photographs in the valley. I had to find some evidence to determine whether or not a Roman road had ever traversed those hills—a difficult matter, which might require a week's search. I had, however, the good fortune to find within an hour two slight cuttings for a road in the rocks, which here and there protruded from the bush-clad soil of the hills, and when we reached the watershed I began to question my guide about the roads. To my astonishment he pointed out the waggon-road to Konia, and when I asked about this road he said that until quite recently the waggon-road from the west to Konia took the route south of the mountain, and passed where we were standing—where I could see the evident marks of wheeled carriages. This old waggon-road to Konia reached the plain considerably to the south of that city, and turned up north-east to reach it. There was no reason in the natural circumstances why this route should have been followed instead of the direct modern line on the north side of the mountain. The explanation lay in the history of the Roman road. It was intended to connect Antioch with

Lystra, a military road constructed by the Emperor Augustus to maintain communication between the two great Roman fortresses; and when this road was built it was natural that wheeled traffic from Iconium to the west should go southwards over the plain in order to take advantage of the good road across the hills. It was only when neglect had suffered this imperial road to pass into complete decay that the established habit gradually fell into disuse, and the direct path came into use for both horse and waggon traffic.

This result was peculiarly gratifying. My confidence that an expression, "the Imperial Road which leads to Lystra," in the legend of Thekla, bore about it the savour of antiquity and truth, had led me on to discover the disused old road and to unravel the tangled skein of history. This expression, true and ancient, is misused in the later form of the legend as it has come down to us, and "the Imperial Road to Lystra" has been misapplied to describe the road from Iconium to Lystra, whereas both in fact and in the early form of the legend it denoted the road direct from Antioch to Lystra, which did not touch Iconium. The "Imperial Road" to Lystra is not correctly marked in the map attached to my *Church in the Roman Empire.* It passed about seven or eight miles south-west of Iconium, and there it was that Onesiphorus, according to the legend, waited for St. Paul and brought him into Iconium.

As to the Castle of Sinnâda, now Sivri-Kalesi, overhanging the Baghirsak-Dere, and the bishopric Sinethandos (with its extraordinary variety of names) in the valley two miles west of Kizil-Euren, we found no evidence to add to the discussion given by the present writer in the *Annual of the British School, Athens*, 1902-3, p. 255, nor did we seek for it. The identity is there established firmly, and we were in search of evidence only on points which were still in doubt.

## V. ICONIUM AND ITS TERRITORY.

The wide territory of Iconium (Konia) probably began at the watershed immediately east of Kizil-Euren ; and there also was the limit between the Byzantine Provinces of Pisidia and Lycaonia.

One more discovery rewarded our journey before we reached Konia. Among the rather confused routes leading across Asia Minor to Constantinople enumerated by the Arab soldier of the ninth century, Ibn Khordadhbeh, is one which, in a very long paper on Lycaonia in the Austrian *Jahreshefte*, 1904, I conjectured to be the hill-road from Konia to Ak-Sheher, the most direct way to the capital. On it the Arab geographer places the Castle of Dakalias. Now about six or seven miles north-west of Konia, overhanging that road, is a lofty conical peak, which forms a very conspicuous and useful point for geographical observations, called St. Philip's Hill by the Greeks, and Takali Dagh by the Turks. After that paper was printed we ascended the peak, on geographic cares intent. The aneroid makes the summit 1,900 feet above Konia. The summit is occupied by a great castle, one of the series of castles on high, steep points by which the Byzantine emperors tried to defend the country against raiders from the East. We hear most about them during the Saracen wars, but the system is of older origin. One at least of the most typical among them, Sivri-Hissar (" Pointed Castle "), in Western Galatia, which was called Justinianopolis, reveals its early foundation by its name. Another, Verinopolis, the site of which we fixed during the present year on a similar lofty peak at Zengijek, eleven hours north-east of Konia, carries us back to an even earlier date, about A.D. 474.

When we discovered that St. Philip was a great castle, I did not at the time make the obvious connection between the Turkish and the Arabic name. But this year, when we came in sight of Takali Dagh, the identity with the Castle of Dakalias struck me. Takali commands the road on which Ibn Khordadhbeh describes

Dakalias. I thought that, when we climbed the peak, we had made a discovery, but when we returned home I found that, as usual, Hamilton—" the prince of travellers in Asia Minor," as I have often styled him—had not omitted to ascend Takali Dagh, and record the existence of the castle.

Three exceptionally important inscriptions have been found at Konia in digging the foundations of a new house on the edge of the town, where the road from the railway station enters an open square. Copies of them were sent me last January by one of my servants, a Greek, son of a professional magician in Konia ; and I recopied them in the beginning of May. One was inscribed on the gravestone, or on the pedestal of a statue, in honour of the first duumvir of the colony. It puts an end to the controversy in which I have for some time been involved against some German scholars, especially Prof. Zahn. They maintained that Claudius made Iconium a Roman Colony, I that Hadrian founded the colony. The new inscription shows that the foundation cannot have happened till well on in the second century : the date may be confidently assigned as A.D. 130-137. The other two inscriptions mention the names of three of the Iconian Tribes, one of Athena [. . . . . .], a second called Augusta, and a third called Hadriana Herculana. Each Tribe had an official called a Prostates at its head. The constitution of Iconium was hitherto entirely unknown. But an old inscription, badly published in the *C.I.G.*, 3995 *b*, mentions the four Stemmata of the Colonia. The Stemmata must mean honorary crowns, conferred by the four Tribes which constituted the Colonia, and represented in relief on the monument. There remains, therefore, still one Iconian Tribe, whose name is unknown.

The goddess Athena, who gave name to a tribe, is styled Minerva Zizymene in a Latin inscription (*C.I.L.*, iii., 13638) ; but this epithet was not used in the inscription just mentioned. In the Hellenic city a more Hellenic title was employed in the municipal institution of the Tribe. Dr. Th. Wiegand, to whom two impres-

sions of the first-mentioned inscription were sent by Dr. Loytved, German Consul in Konia (whom I helped to make the impressions of this and other inscriptions), reads the Tribal name as Ἀθηνᾶς Π[ολιάδος]. I examined the stone carefully twice and can attest that no complete letter could be seen after Ἀθηνᾶς, as the fracture passes across the middle of ς at the end of Ἀθηνᾶς, and that letter is indicated in my copy as incomplete but certain. There remain, however, the lower ends of two perpendicular lines after Ἀθηνᾶς : these might be taken for Η, or ΙΓ, or ΙΠ, or ΙΚ. But Dr. Wiegand's restoration is probably the correct text, and is certainly true to the religious facts : the Iconian Minerva Zizimena was beyond all doubt the patron goddess of the city, and naturally bore the Greek title Polias.

According to the usual practice of Hellenistic cities, these Tribes, doubtless, were composed of four different nationalities which made up the population. The foundation of a Colonia by Hadrian brought no accession of Roman colonists : it merely meant that the city was raised to the most honourable rank and the highest privileges accorded to a provincial city. The four Tribes are therefore of earlier origin ; and we may probably believe that one contained the original Phrygian population (the Tribe of Athena Zizimene), one the Hellenic and afterwards also the Roman citizens (the Tribe Augusta, renamed and enlarged by Augustus), and one the East Anatolian element (the Tribe Herculana).

Sizma, a village among the hills five hours north of Konia, where quicksilver mines have been worked from a remote period and are still worked, retains the name of the ancient Zizima, the seat of the worship of the goddess, the Mother of Zizima, who was widely worshipped in the country around, north and east and south. Her home was indicated to men by the underground wealth which was here offered for their use. The village contains many monuments of her worship, showing that she was simply a local form of the Phrygian goddess Cybele. She is accompanied by a lion or a pair of lions ; she bears the title "Mother of gods" ; and an archigallos

was the chief of a company of priests attached to her worship. Seven inscriptions, discovered in recent years, mention her title ; the last was found at Sizma by Mr. Garstang this year, and afterwards recopied by me. Many others relate to her worship without naming her. The Roman system of managing the mines at Zizima is described, so far as the scanty records permit, in the *Classical Review*, 1905, pp. 367-370 and 429.

The territory of Iconium was bounded to north-east by the long ridge of Boz-Dagh. On the road to Archelais, just before it reached the mountains, there was a village of Iconium, probably called Salarama ; two old Turkish khans, one called Kutu-Delik, close under Boz-Dagh, the other called Sindjerli, seven or eight miles to the south, have been built out of the ruins of the ancient village, which probably stood closer to Kutu-Delik. A wealthy Iconian family, which attained the Roman citizenship probably as early as the first century, and took the Roman name Aponius, possessed property in this neighbourhood ; and its members both served in the Imperial armies and held municipal office in Iconium ; but their family burial-place was at the village. There is at Kutu-Delik also a milestone dated under the Governor of Galatia [C. Atticius] Strabo, A.D. 198, proving (as I have long maintained in opposition to the high authority of M. Imhoof Blumer) that Iconium was in the Province Galatia down to this time (which practically means that, like Pisidian Antioch and Apollonia, it was a Galatian city from B.C. 25 to about A.D. 295). It is published in the *Classical Review*, 1905, p. 416 : see also Prof. T. Callander in the present volume, p. 172.

## VI. VERINOPOLIS, PSEBILA AND THE CENTRAL TRADE ROUTE.

Crossing Boz-Dagh by the road leading to Archelais, we kept away to the left along the northern slope of Boz-Dagh, and passed through a series of ancient villages or small towns. Of these one was at the village of Geîmir, where we found part of the architrave of a large building dedicated to the Emperor Pius, and some other

inscriptions, both pagan and Christian. The situation on the "Syrian route," which led from the Mæander and the west in general by Laodiceia Combusta, Psebila (Suwerek), Savatra, Kanna, Cybistra and the Cilician Gates to Tarsus and Antioch, explains the comparatively early penetration of Græco-Roman civilisation into this remote village. Keeping on close to the northern skirts of Boz-Dagh, we came to Zulmandani-Khan (where no inscription rewarded us), which preserves the ancient name of Zeus Zemroutenos, and then to Zengijek, which seemed a specially miserable and uninviting village as we entered it after sunset amid a storm of rain. For many hours on that day we had been journeying towards a towering peak, watching it gradually grow more distinct as we approached. On the following day, turning to the north, along the road Konia-Zengijek-Suwerek-Angora, we crossed a high ridge, and on the crest of the ridge we found ourselves under and close to the peak which had attracted our attention on the preceding day. We now could see that the peak bore a Byzantine castle, and on this and the preceding and following days we observed that it overlooks and commands a wide extent of country and must have been chosen as a fortress on that account. At the present day surveyors would select it as an extremely useful point for readings. Crossing the ridge we came to Suwerek, about five miles from Zengijek, where I had recently placed the ancient road-station Psebila or Psibela or Psibella (in the Peutinger Table called Pegella).

The ancient topography now became clear. In a minute study of Lycaonia (published in the Austrian *Jahreshefte*, 1904, pt. ii.) I had pointed out that Savatra was the leading city of Northern Lycaonia during the early centuries, but that Verinopolis had succeeded to that position about 474. I had, however, not been able to find the exact position of Verinopolis: it was practically certain that one of the two associated towns, Psebila and Verinopolis, was situated at Suwerek; but I knew of no clearly suitable situation for the other of the pair, having never seen Suwerek or explored the

district. Now all was clear, as soon as I saw the castle of Zengijek. The open defenceless situation of Savatra was found unsuitable for the metropolis of Northern Lycaonia during the troubled times of the fourth and fifth centuries. The lofty peak of Zengijek-Kale, about four hours W.N.W. of Savatra, was marked out as the true centre of defence in the military system of that period ; and at last about 474 this situation of affairs was recognised, and the castle was built on the peak and called by the name of the Empress Verina and made into a bishopric and the capital of the whole region.

The situation of Suwerek-Psebila on the cross-roads made it always important, though indefensible as a fortress ; and it continued to exist as an open town throughout history. The bishopric was never absolutely merged in Verinopolis, but both names were joined in the title. Both pagan and Christian inscriptions, some of great interest, are numerous at Suwerek.

Zengijek is full of Christian stones, of early Byzantine period, together with some inscriptions which may be of the late Roman time. Suwerek, on the other hand, is a Roman site and road-station, with four Latin inscriptions, probably all milestones on one or other of the Roman roads which met here. One milestone contains the name of C. Atticius Strabo, Governor of Galatia in A.D. 198, and the distance PE, *i.e.*, 105, engraved in very rude misshapen letters ; the village must be about one hundred and five miles distant from Ancyra, whence the distances throughout Galatia Provincia were counted. The road from Ancyra to Iconium, necessarily an important one in the administration of the Province, passed through Psebila, then crossed the ridge by Zengijek-Kale to Zengijek in the corner between that ridge and the line of Boz-Dagh, and then crossed Boz-Dagh towards Bunar-Bashi and Iconium. At Psibela this important Galatian road crossed the great Central Trade Route from the west to Archelais, Cæsareia and the Euphrates ; and here the Syrian route diverged, and went, as already described, by Savatra to the Cilician Gates. It has rarely been my lot to find a case

where mere inspection of the localities cleared up so completely the ancient topography and at the same time confirmed so thoroughly the partial inferences previously drawn from literary authorities.

In Byzantine history one incident is connected with Psebila, though the name is not mentioned. In A.D. 977 a part of the troops of the rebel Bardas Sclerus found themselves confronted by the imperial generals: the two armies were marching in different directions along the Central Trade Route. The tribute, which was being taken from Syria to Constantinople, was carried by a road passing right between the two armies, which were still at some distance from one another. Evidently the one army was a little to the east of Psebila, and the other a little to the west, while the tribute was carried from Syria by Savatra and Psebila towards Amorium and Constantinople, the shortest way.

At Dedeler, four hours west of Suwerek, on the road to Serai-Inn and the west coast, we found a large number of inscriptions. One of these may perhaps prove to be a historical monument of considerable importance. It is one of the rare Byzantine inscriptions, which diverge from the few stereotyped formulæ; and such exceptional inscriptions have usually in other cases been found to relate to persons of high family. The forms of the letters prove it to be of a late period, not earlier than the eighth or ninth century, perhaps considerably later. Above it is an elaborate cross in tracery within a fantastically ornate circle. *ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως κοιμήσεως κὲ μακαρήας μνήμης τοῦ δούλου τοῦ δούλου [sic!] τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ Βαρδακομήτου Μουνζούρη κὲ τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς αὐτοῦ Ἀνπελᾶ τοῦ Χωσάρη.* Accents are placed over most of the words (excepting *ὑπέρ, κέ, Ἀνπελᾶ*); breathing over *αὐτοῦ*; the false accent and spelling *Βαρδακομητοῦ* are used. This inscription seems to carry us back to a rather romantic scene in Byzantine history.

In A.D. 971, according to Leo Diaconus, p. 119 ff., the rebel Bardas Phocas advanced from Cæsareia towards Constantinople to contest the imperial dignity. Sclerus, who was sent against him,

marched by Dorylaion to Dipotamon, an imperial estate not far from Philomelion (Ak-Sheher). Phocas, therefore, must have advanced by the Central Route through Psibela and Dedeler, towards Philomelion. From Dipotamon Sclerus sent agents, who induced many of Phocas's adherents to desert. Phocas had to flee towards the east, and took refuge in the Castle of the Tyrants (*τῶν Τυράννων*), called Antigous ; and the place where his army dispersed bore the name of Barda-étta, "the defeat of Bardas". Now, when we find that Barda-kome was situated on the road by which Phocas marched, we must be struck with the coincidence, and still more when we find that in this inscription the name Anpelas occurs (which plays a part in the war, as narrated by Leo Diaconus, vii.).

Only one difficulty occurs here. In my *Histor. Geography*, p. 141, where this passage is discussed, Barda-étta is placed much nearer Philomelion, and the castle Tyrannorum is identified with Tyriaion (the reading being supposed to be corrupted from Tyraénorum). This, however, is impossible, for Antigous was farther east in the Thema of Cappadocia (as Ibn Khordadhbeh says) ; moreover, Phocas had fortified it beforehand as a retreat in case of defeat, and, in advancing from Cæsareia, he could hardly have hoped to hold a place so far west as Tyriaion in case of defeat. With this exception the reasoning about the localities is confirmed by the new inscription, and Barda-êtta may be supposed to be a Grecised form of the native Phrygian name of the village, which is here called by the Greek title Barda-kome.

## VII. NORTHERN LYCAONIA AND THE PHRYGIAN FRONTIER.

We found the site of an unknown city, now utterly uninhabited, about six hours N.N.E. from Dedeler. The map of this whole region is so vague and uncertain that it is impossible to specify its position in the road-system ; but it cannot be very far west of the road Ancyra-Iconium. The nearest village is Kara-Bagh about five or six miles to the north-east ; the nearest Yaila is called Eurek,

about two miles to the north : the site is called Azak. One of the inscriptions at Azak mentions an Archiereus, so that we must think of a city and not a mere village as situated there. Numerous inscriptions at Eurek, Kara-Bagh, and other Yailas, belong to this city. Near sunset we found that no barley for the horses could be got for love or money at Eurek, where we had intended to stop, and we went off very unwillingly to Tcheshmeli-Zebir, two and a half hours N.N.W. This is a Yuruk village, newly settled and newly built. The inscriptions which Mr. J. G. C. Anderson copied here in 1899 have almost all disappeared ; but we found many new ones. We also found a Greek mason, building a Turkish school, who informed us that the finest site in the whole country was at Sinanli, twelve hours away to N.W., where there were at least 500 inscriptions, never seen by any European. To go in this direction required a complete change of plan, and many disappointments make me extremely sceptical about such tales. But we gradually worked round to Sinanli, and after four busy days of long travelling and many inscriptions we found ourselves late one afternoon at the much-lauded site. It was very disappointing, a mere village, not a city. In front of the mosque were two much worn and practically undecipherable inscriptions in the later Phrygian language, which contained a formula quite different from any that I had hitherto seen. I therefore determined to dig up some stones which appeared above the ground in the middle of the village, in the hope of finding better examples of the formula. Sinanli is a small Kurd village, and the people were all away at Yaila ; so we had to go to the nearest Yaila about an hour distant. Hitherto I had believed that Tiberias (so far as my personal knowledge extended) was the filthiest town inhabited by man ; but this Kurd Yaila was worse. A storm of rain confined us to a hut during the night, and made the whole Yaila unspeakably malodorous. We got away thankfully in the morning, and by seven o'clock had a dozen Kurds working in their lazy fashion at the stones. The excavation was no

easy matter, as the stones turned out to be about four to five feet deep ; and the Kurds were sick of the work when they had got down two feet. But in the end we were able to leave Sinanli with four complete Phrygian inscriptions, one a fairly long text, one fragment, and twenty-five Greek epitaphs.

These Phrygian inscriptions, which I have just published in the Austrian *Jahreshefte*, will rouse much interest among the Comparative Philologists, as they contain many interesting words and forms, and throw much light on the Phrygian language. Among the words I may mention, *oua* (meaning either "tribe" or "village," Greek οἶα, ὦα, ὤβα), *ankaioi* or *akkeoi* (Greek ἀνάγκη), *teutous* (either "people" or "judgment," "authoritative decision"), *bekos* (which Herodotus mentions as the Phrygian for "bread"). The new formula, which occurs in four of the inscriptions, is in its simplest form *ios ni semoun knoumani kakoun addaket, gegreimenan* (once *gegeimenan*) *egedoutios outan:* "who ever to this tomb harm shall do, he is liable to the prescribed penalty". I shall mention here only one more point, the ingenious and convincing explanation and derivation of the last word *outan*, which Prof. Sayce suggested. He pointed out that *outan* must correspond to the Greek ἄϋαταν (dialectic form of ἄτην), and thus it means "penalty". These new inscriptions are published and the whole corpus of late Phrygian inscriptions (almost all, with rare exceptions, copied during the work of the Asia Minor Exploration Fund) discussed in the Austrian *Jahreshefte*, 1905.

The numerous early Christian inscriptions of this North Lycaonian region are utterly different in form and ornamentation from those of Nova Isaura and Southern Lycaonia (described by Miss Ramsay in the first article of this volume, pts. ii., iii.). They are usually either tall stelai or altars. Many of them are adorned with representation of household implements, portable fireplaces, often with saucepans standing on them, spindles and distaffs, and so on ; and exactly the same representations are found on pagan tombstones.

The peacock is several times represented on the Christian tombstones, taking the place filled by the dove on Southern Lycaonian stones. One epitaph contains a clear reference to Revelation iii. 20, the grave is commended to the care of Him who knocks where the door stands before Him. In a pagan epitaph a dutiful son praises his mother "pure as Artemis," and shows his religion by commending her knowledge of the "works of Athena," as represented on the gravestone-distaff, portable fireplace and cooking-pot (p. 70).

It is quite extraordinary how erroneous Kiepert's new large-scale map of Turkey is in this region; and it is difficult to describe the complication of error into which he has fallen. Two roads lead from Konia over Boz-Dagh, one by Egri-Baiyat and Mennek-Yaila and Zengijek to Suwerek; the other by Dibi-Delik to Obruk. Kiepert interpolates a third road midway between these two, places on it a second Egri-Baiyat (he has the village fairly correct on the true road), and puts Mernek-Yaila on this non-existent road. I might go on for a column in this strain; but it is useless. The country has never been surveyed: Kiepert has only loose and careless notes of travellers to go upon, and often their descriptions are so inaccurate that they seem to be describing different roads when they have really been traversing all the same path. For every mistake in Kiepert's map there is a foundation in the carelessness (or, I should rather say, the deadly fatigue and weariness) of a traveller. The only wonder is that Kiepert has been able to make a map that is so good. I mention the seriousness of the mistakes not for the sake of fault-finding, but of warning. I have utterly failed to make the professional geographers in England believe that there are faults in Kiepert, or to induce them to vary from the published maps. You may spend weeks or months in drawing a better map; you put it into the professional geographer's hands, and out comes the old Kiepert unchanged, and the draftsman is quite hurt at your ingratitude, after he has taken so much care to correct all your vagaries and variations from the standard map.

## VIII. SOUTHERN LYCAONIA AND THE ISAURIAN FRONTIER.

Our work in this direction was not so fruitful. Some days were spent in the Isaurian hill country, in search of a reported great engineering work, a tunnel to carry the waters of Tcharshamba River ; but we had not time to attain any result, not even a negative one (which always needs more time than a positive result). We collected some inscriptions and made drawings and photographs of some monuments.

At Alkaran, near Nova Isaura, we got a number of inscribed monuments excavated. One was of the regular Christian Isauran type, a fitting companion to the tomb of the Makarios Papas (see pp. 23, 34 of this volume), and of the same period, probably about A.D. 250-300 ; a dove with a leaf in its mouth, incised on the stone, makes an interesting addition to the Christian symbolism of Central Asia Minor. Another tombstone, p. 54, which covered the grave of a physician, has the sacred fish three times repeated on it. Several others have the type of the dove, showing that this was a favourite emblem on tombstones in Lycaonia during the third and fourth centuries. A fourth century metrical epitaph of a Presbyter, found at Iconium, compares the deceased to a dove. It was not in our power to continue any longer the excavations ; but there can be no doubt that, with some small expenditure in excavation, a great deal of information about the state of the country around Derbe and Lystra during the early Christian period might be recovered here.

## IX. THE THOUSAND AND ONE CHURCHES IN LYCAONIA.

This site, the Turkish Bin-Bir-Kilisse, "1001 Churches," also called Maden-Sheher, "City of Mines," has attracted increased attention since the publication of Strzygowski's *Kleinasien ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*, which was reviewed in *The Athenæum*, 14th November, 1903 (p. 656), by the present writer. The work incorporates the description and rough plan by Mr. Crowfoot, as also a more detailed plan by Smirnov, and a study in considerable detail by

Prof. Strzygowski, founded on these and older authorities. The account of the site given in this book is by far the best, though still only a very inadequate one. The whole argument of the book is founded on the belief that the site and buildings belong to the early Byzantine period, and that the methods of construction practised there may safely be taken as almost a starting-point in the history of Byzantine church architecture. As to the discriminating, but on the whole cordially laudatory review just mentioned, it seems to me, with the exception of one rather important detail described below, to be on the right lines, and I still maintain as a whole the views stated in it. But the assumption of an early date for the Thousand and One Churches as a whole, from which Strzygowski starts, must certainly be dismissed as erroneous. The results at which we arrived in 1905 as to the date of the churches and the chequered history of the city to which they belonged, are so opposed to existing ideas and prepossessions that it seems useful to make them known as widely as possible—especially as they prove more clearly than ever that extremely important results, including probably a history of church construction in one city from about A.D. 350 to 1050, might be reached by a trained architect with means and leisure to examine the site. The historical sketch which I shall give rests on objective and incontrovertible evidence, and some such view seems likely to form the basis on which future exploration will work ; I write purely as an epigraphist and historian, and not as presuming to state an opinion on architectural questions.

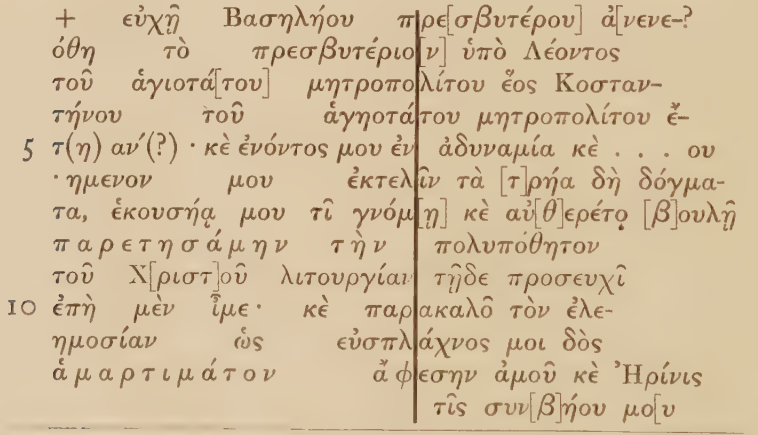
Bin-Bir-Kilisse lies about seventy-four kilometres (by the Bagdad Railway Survey) from Konia, in a hollow on the northern flank of Kara-Dagh, looking out direct to the north. In 1882 I spent part of a day on the site, when travelling in the company of Sir Charles Wilson, then Consul-General in Anatolia ; but I was at that time a mere beginner in exploration, and had not learnt how to search for evidence ; moreover, I had contracted an illness in Konia, and was hardly able to sit on a horse, much less to wander in

the heat over those widespread ruins. This time, in May, 1905, we reached the site about sunset, having spent the day on the top of the mountain (Kara-Dagh) at a site called Daoule or Devle, which is a sort of high-lying *annexe* to Bin-Bir-Kilisse. Rain began during the night, and expelled us from our couches on the housetop. I spent the hours from 4.30 to 7.30 A.M. in examining some of the churches; then we were driven away by the approach of a great thunderstorm, which had been long overdue and threatening, and which enveloped the mountain in dense mist and rain for three days. But we found enough to say with confidence that both sites belong mainly to the period when Byzantine power was reviving from the Saracen attack, and especially to the time after the Saracen invasions had ceased to be a constant danger. Daoule probably belongs to the intermediate period, A.D. 650-900; and Bin-Bir-Kilisse in its more exposed situation is at once the earlier and the later site. In the latter a number of the churches belong to the tenth or eleventh century. On the upper site, at Daoule, an inscription on one of the churches mentions that it was [built] or [renovated] (the serious doubt and difference are caused by a break in the stone) during the time when Leo was the metropolitan bishop (*i.e.* of Iconium), about A.D. 787; a second was of similar date, and others may be earlier. The evidence, so far as it reaches, is absolute, certain and incontrovertible, because it is epigraphic. Mr. Crowfoot speaks of the "paucity of inscriptions," and seems to imply that there are none, or next to none. But there are a fair number; in my two very brief visits I have copied above a dozen, and I have not examined more than a quarter of the site. Two, at least, which escaped me, have been copied: one by MM. Radet and Paris in 1886, and one by Miss Bell in 1905. Others I know to exist. The study of the architecture must be based on epigraphy, for this fixes in some degree the chronology and the historical circumstances.

As to the purpose of the two-score churches in or above that town in the oval recess among the mountains, the epigraphic evidence

shows that at least three were erected in memory of deceased persons, and one was built or renovated as a vow and an expiation by a presbyter who retired from the duties of the ministry; and probably several others will, as the epigraphy is more carefully studied, be proved similarly to be votive or mortuary. I am uncertain whether or not two other memorial inscriptions which I copied belonged to churches or only to graves.

The church at Daoule, erected or renovated by the presbyter just mentioned, is one which will engage and reward the attention of architects, on account of the important inscription which gives the date of the work. In Konia this inscription was mentioned to me by Miss Bell as being of extreme importance, because it probably gave a date of construction, but as decayed and almost illegible. I spent the best part of five hours on it, and ought to have returned to it on the following day; but the storm made this impossible. Still most part of it is certain. It is engraved on two adjoining stones inside a small chamber on the north side of the church, near the west end. The building is ruinous in this part: my work on it was never completed, and I state the place of the inscription on Miss Bell's information.



The inscription is full of difficulties, and the reading was almost a matter of guesswork. The chamber was badly lighted ; the day was sunless and dark with the coming storm. The number of years in line 5 cannot be right : [τ]ρήα, for τρία, is equally false : [ἄ]γηα is also impossible : so is [τ]ρηάδη for τριάδι. In line 10 ἐπὴ (*i.e.* ἐπεὶ) μὲν ἶμε (*i.e.* εἶμαι) is perhaps a familiar prayer, cited by its first words (as Prof. F. Cumont suggests to me). ἐλεημοσιαν misread for ἐλεήμονα(ν). Line 11 ends with δός. The meaning is :—

" + By the vow of Basil the presbyter was [renewed ?] the presbyterium under the rule of Leo the most holy metropolitan until Constantine the most holy metropolitan during fifty-one years (?). And when I was involved in failure of strength, and . . . to complete the . . . dogmas, of my own free opinion and voluntary plan I resigned the much-loved service of Christ by this prayer, 'When I am, *etc.*' ; and I beseech the Merciful (God) that He grant compassionately to me remission of the sins of me and of Irene my wife."

This inscription, though extremely badly spelt, is evidently composed by a person whose mother-tongue was Greek ; and in this respect it stands in marked contrast to the Phrygian and Pisidian inscriptions in Greek of the early centuries, which are evidently the work of persons that did not speak Greek as their native language but only had a smattering of the speech.

The date under Leo is fortunately clear and certain. The reference is indubitably to the bishop of the metropolis of the province, *viz.*, Iconium : no other metropolitan could be taken into account on this site. Now Leo was metropolitan bishop of Iconium at the second Council of Nicæa, A.D. 787. The rude lettering and the detestable spelling show that the inscription is very late, and that no unknown earlier Leo, who might possibly have existed in the very defective list of Iconian bishops, can have been referred to. After stating the circumstances, the presbyter ends with a prayer for the pardon of the sins of himself and his wife Irene.

Strzygowski points out (*Kleinasien*, pp. 105, 187, 207) that the enlargement of the presbyterion of a church is a common feature at

Bin-Bir-Kilisse. The apse alone was originally the place for the presbyters, but afterwards the eastern part of the nave, with the first column on each side, was added. If my conjecture that this operation was performed by Basil is right, traces of the change ought to be evident, even in this ruinous church ; and thus the conjecture should be proved or disproved. The date about A.D. 787 for this change would be typical, probably, for other cases.

But in this and in numberless other points our brief examination of the ruins is only important as showing how much might be done by careful study by an architect and an epigraphist ; and my chief purpose is to plead for the equipment of such an enterprise on a reasonable scale. A few hundred pounds—say £300 or £350—with at least a month free on the spot, to measure, to dig, to move stones, etc., would result, if suitable persons can be found for the work, in a most valuable architectural and historical study. At the same time, it may be hoped that this paper will give sufficient proof, if any be needed, that neither the architect alone, nor the epigraphist alone, is sufficient : each can raise many questions, and indicate lines of search, which only the other can deal with and follow out.

The term "presbyterion," which is used in the dedication of the retired presbyter, must mean the part of the church appropriated to the *synedrion* or *collegium* of the presbyters ; the word *kollegi(o)n* occurs in the interior inscription of another church (Crowfoot, No. III.), where it should probably be interpreted in this sense, and not in the way taken in the above-mentioned review of Strzygowski : [οἱ δεῖνες] τὸ κολλῆγιν ἐν κοινῷ εὐξάμενοι ἐτέ[λεσαν] : "[Certain persons] completed the space appropriated to the college of presbyters, having made a vow". That inscription of the kollegi(o)n is perhaps earlier in the form of lettering than any other of the inscriptions hitherto mentioned ; but I have not seen it since 1882, and the letters are of such a character and so distant from the eye that the forms in my copy afford little criterion of date.

A stronger chronological argument is furnished by three in-

scriptions on three adjoining stones in the same course in the outer wall of the apse of this same church (Crowfoot, No. III.). The first is hieratic; the letters are coarse, and the spelling abominable: αὕτη [ἡ] κατύκυσης μου ὴς ἐῶνα ἐῶνος ὃδε κατύκυσο αὐτή[ν]: "This is my habitation for ever and ever: thus inhabit it".* That this inscription is as late as the eighth or ninth, or even the tenth century seems certain; that it was engraved as a sort of consecration when the church was new I feel little doubt; but any one is free to consider that it was cut at a later date than the building of the church, and his opinion could not be directly disproved. On the next stone to the right in the same course is another inscription cut by a different hand :—

+ ἐνθάδε κα-
τάκητε ἡ Στ-
εφάνου, μὴ γνοῦσα †
χάρουσά ποτ ε
μηνὶ Νοέβρου ί:

"Here lies the daughter of Stephanus, who never showed perception or pleasure: on the tenth November . . .". I take this to record that the church commemorates the witless child of the dedicator, Stephanus; but here again the opinion may be maintained that this inscription, which also is indubitably very late, was engraved long after the church was built. Both are published by MM. Radet and Paris: the first in a copy nearly accurate but without transcription; the second incomplete and transcribed incorrectly (reading Μῆγνος as name of the daughter, instead of μὴ γνοῦσα,‡ *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1886, p. 512); but they have omitted the decisive evidence of date. The second inscription extends in

* κατύκυσο for κατοίκησο(ν): or perhaps for κατοίκισο(ν), "in this way establish it".

† There is a gap between γνουσ and α, due to a break in the surface of the old tombstone.

‡ ου, being in ligature, can readily be taken for ο.

part on to the next stone on the right ; and this stone already contained an epitaph before the church was built—in fact it was a gravestone, which was cut to adapt it to its place in the church, and the original epitaph on it was mutilated. This older epitaph itself was quite a late document, coarse and rude in lettering, and expressed in a formula of the more developed style (*Expositor*, December, 1905, p. 442) :—

\+ ἐνθά[δε κα-
τάκι]τε
γνοῦσα
ϵ.

Only a few letters remain of the first two lines ; and they are faint, and thus escaped the notice of the two French explorers. This epitaph could not be earlier than the sixth or seventh century, and may be a good deal later ; and some interval must have elapsed before it could be taken and cut to build the church. The interval lasted probably until the end of the Arab raids, when the city was rebuilt, and many new churches were constructed, in which old stones were often used.

I hope that I shall not be understood to imply that the two excellent explorers just mentioned showed carelessness in missing the letters of the older epitaph on the stone in the apse. I confess that I also failed to read them at first, thinking that they contained an obliterated date, probably by indiction (as I saw only ν clearly), and therefore valueless for chronology, even if it had been decipherable ; but afterwards, when I went on to the church mentioned below and found in its west wall three older inscribed stones, which the builders had used, I returned to church No. III., and re-examined the inscriptions on the outside of the apse, with the results already described.

Thus church No. III. contains both an interior inscription, which I copied in 1882, and three exterior inscriptions, which I

copied in 1905. In each case I saw only what I copied: in 1905 I had no time to enter the church. Pridik copied part of the inner inscription making no sense of it (Strzygowski, *Kleinasien*, p. 58), and MM. Radet and Paris copied two of the exterior inscriptions. This is a typical example of the haphazard way in which the inscriptions of Asia Minor have been collected. Only when the work is completely done does the historical reasoning upon it become sure. I cannot even guarantee that all these four inscriptions are in the same church. I can say only that the three exterior inscriptions are in the church marked III. on the published plan; and that Strzygowski attributes to this same church, on Pridik's authority, the interior inscription, which I copied twenty-three years ago without recording the position of the church that it belonged to. Considering how unsatisfactory all the plans and accounts of Bin-Bir-Kilisse are, we must wait for a fuller and more accurate description of it and of Daoule. In the latter only one church has been noticed by Crowfoot (his No. II.); Smirnov did not see Daoule, nor any other traveller except the indefatigable tourist Davis. I am glad to think that a full and trustworthy account of Daoule may soon be supplied by Miss Bell, who has examined, photographed, and planned the place with a care and thoroughness that no one else has applied.

Since the preceding remarks were printed, good plans of many of the buildings at Bin-Bir-Kilisse have been published at Hamburg by Mr. Holtzmann, an engineer on the German Anatolian Railway. His plan shows clearly the church described in my next paragraph.

In another church—which is not mentioned on Crowfoot's plan, but which stands about two hundred yards north of the church at the south-west side of the village, marked "Octagon. Church" on the plan—there are three inscribed stones in the west wall. One is turned upside down and re-cut, and this mutilated inscription is dated between A.D. 962 and 970. The other two stones are also very late; both are re-cut, and one is turned sideways. This church must therefore be dated in the eleventh century, not later than A.D. 1071,

but probably near that year. The Seljuk Turks conquered the country in 1072, and no churches can be dated later than the conquest. The Christian population deserted Bin-Bir-Kilisse probably immediately after 1072.

I am convinced that an explorer trained in Byzantine architectural history would unhesitatingly assign to most of these plain, undecorated buildings a late origin ; Strzygowski had never seen them, and depends on very imperfect descriptions, ground-plans with very few elevations or details ; and he was evidently much influenced by Mr. Crowfoot's unhesitating opinion that "we may regard the ruins of Bin-Bir-Kilisse as the remains of a typical provincial town of the early Byzantine age". In place of this date we must now substitute "the ninth to eleventh centuries". But, while the churches for the most part belong to this late date, it does not follow that their designs are late. In that remote and sequestered spot, far from the centres of civilisation, early forms and designs may have been preserved and repeated with little change, except a growing plainness and a decrease in richness of ornament. But I lay no stress on my imperfect comprehension of architectural character. I depend on the epigraphic evidence that as a whole Bin-Bir-Kilisse is of late Byzantine time, but pure Byzantine, untouched by Seljuk work. It was abandoned about A.D. 1072-1100.

It is not meant, however, that Bin-Bir-Kilisse is only a late site. It is an old site, but, being exposed to the full fury of Saracen raids, it is likely to have been completely destroyed during the three centuries of war A.D. 660-965. None of the churches on the lower site can safely be dated between 660 and 900. During that time the higher parts of the mountain alone were safe, and most of the churches at Daoule may probably be assigned to that period. Before 650 we may look for buildings at the lower site ; and such buildings are likely to have been destroyed by the Saracens, while those that belong to the tenth and eleventh centuries have suffered little from the hand of man, and have been exposed only to the gentle influences

of nature. The explorer of Bin-Bir-Kilisse would do well to seek for some means of distinguishing buildings which have suffered intentional devastation ; these may safely be dated before A.D. 660. Probably a careful examination would reveal much about the history of the city of Barata, and might show that churches of very similar plan were executed before 650 and after 900.

Epigraphic evidence of that older city, the Barata of the Roman and early Byzantine periods, is not wholly wanting. MM. Radet and Paris have fortunately copied and published the inscription on a sarcophagus, which I did not see. Although the text is incomplete and not restorable, it is expressed in an early class of formula, and can hardly be later than the middle of the fourth century. Also the inscriptions in the extreme north-western church (Crowfoot, No. VI.) may perhaps belong to an early period—the fifth century, possibly, if I may judge from my copies made in 1882 ; but the forms are not very distinctive, and one could not lay any stress on those hasty copies made so long ago. It is unsafe to express any opinion without seeing the inscriptions again.

Daoule also had probably a complicated history. It was perhaps begun as a monastery in a retired spot high among the mountains, about the end of the fourth century or during the fifth. This process of seeking retirement in mountains and deep glens was practised in Eastern Anatolia already by Basil and Gregory, soon after the middle of the fourth century. Then, during the times of unrest and constant raid, the centres of population were removed from exposed spots like Bin-Bir-Kilisse, near the level of the plain, to places high among the mountains of Kara-Dagh and Karadja-Dagh. Then Daoule probably came to be used as a town for residence, until the Byzantine power was reinvigorated during the tenth century, and Saracen raids ceased.

If the views just expressed are right, it is more evident than ever that the proper exploration of Bin-Bir-Kilisse and Devle is urgently needed in the interests of Byzantine history and of Christian

architecture. There remain there the ruins of nearly two-score churches, belonging to all ages from the fourth or fifth century to the eleventh, not to mention one large monastery at Daoule. It is not merely plans, drawings, photographs of the architecture that are needed: almost more necessary is it to observe carefully and collect all the evidence, epigraphic and otherwise, bearing on the date of the different buildings and on the history of the city. With this should be united an exploration of four or five other remarkable Byzantine sites in Kara-Dagh and Karadja-Dagh, all still practically unknown and unexplored. To judge from some photographs made on one of the Karadja-Dagh sites by Prof. T. Callander, my travelling companion in 1904 and old pupil, the remains there seem earlier than anything that I have seen at Bin-Bir-Kilisse, and more like the ornate Syrian architecture (see p. 178).

The ruins of Bin-Bir-Kilisse are probably those of the ancient city of Barata, a bishopric throughout the history of the Church in Lycaonia. The evidence is not complete and conclusive; but the only other possible supposition seems to be that Thebasa was situated here, Barata at Kara-Bunar, and Hyde at Emir-Ghazi; and that theory presents so many difficulties that, after inclining to it temporarily, I have had to abandon it, but it is needless here to state the difficulties of the theory. The positive arguments which tend to prove that Barata was situated at Bin-Bir-Kilisse are stated in a very long article on Lycaonia, by the present writer, in the *Jahreshefte* of the Austrian Archæological Society, 1904, part ii., and they are pretty strong; but decisive epigraphic evidence is necessary before certainty can be attained. The direct Roman road from Iconium to Cybistra would pass across the plain on the north side of Kara-Dagh; and this route ought to be examined. The increase of the marshes on the north and north-west side of Kara-Dagh, due to the water of Tcharshamba Su, has caused the route to fall into disuse.

In 1905 I was strongly impressed with the fact that at Bin-Bir-

Kilisse there seem to be two towns, the lower and the upper: Holtzmann's plan shows the distinction clearly: none of the other plans do so, and none of the writers who have described the ruins allude to it. The lower town is nearly coincident with the modern village, and it is probably the Roman city. North, north-east, and north-west of it lies a widely scattered series of tombs, churches, and (according to Holtzmann) buildings for public purposes, showing that (as is natural) the town spread out during the Roman peace over the level ground. South-west at a distinct interval lies a considerable group of buildings, at a much higher elevation, on a strong defensible site. Crowfoot's "Octagonal Church" and the one with three gravestones in its west front wall (described above) belong to this upper town, which is otherwise generally very ruinous. At least one other ruined church and many destroyed buildings attracted my attention here.

Part of my purpose in visiting Daoule was to get a series of geographical observations in order to fix the position of Bin-Bir-Kilisse more accurately. But during the day we spent there the air was so dark with the coming storm that nothing was visible beyond a distance of four or five miles out in the plain.

## X. THE PAINTED INSCRIPTIONS OF THE GOLDEN GATE IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Golden Gate was the principal entrance to Constantinople, and Imperial triumphs came into the city by this way. The entrance through the inner wall is by a triple gate. Inscriptions in colour, red and black, are painted on dividing piers between the doors: these have never yet been correctly and completely published. In the Berlin *Corpus Inscr. Lat.*, iii., 7405, the inscriptions in red on the right side are incorrectly published—so badly as to be quite unintelligible—while the inscription in black on the right and all the inscriptions on the left side are left unnoticed.

Professor Van Millingen, in his admirable book on *Byzantine Constantinople*, in which he has summed up the results of many years of careful, minute, accurate and loving study, has given correctly on p. 69 the *Acclamationes* in red ; but has omitted the other inscriptions. But in 1905, when he kindly gave us a day and showed my wife and myself round the walls, we read part of the inscriptions, and came to the conclusion that all might be read with time ; and in 1906 we were able to give an afternoon to the task in company with Mr. Frew and Professor T. Callander. But it is specially to Professor Van Millingen that the following complete decipherment is due.

On the right of the central door is in red

Ornate Cross ὁ θ(εὸ)ς καλῶς ἤνεγκέν σε.

Underneath is painted in red a panel, apparently intended to receive an inscription, though there is no appearance of any letters upon it. Below the panel is the following inscription in red letters of a later form, very carefully made.

[*n*]*u*[*m*]*eri militum primo sagitario*[*r*]*um leonum iuniorum*

and below this in black letters of similar form

[*numeri militum cornutoru*]*m iuniorum.*

On the left of the central door in red

Cross πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τῶν βασιλέων.

Beneath this is a red-painted panel with no trace of letters on it ; and below the panel an inscription in red letters, similar in form to the letters on the right side.

[*numeri militum primo sa*]*gitariorum le*[*o*]*nu*[*m iuniorum*]

and below this in black letters of similar form

[*numeri*] *militum cor*[*n*]*uto*[*ru*]*m i*[*u*]*niorum.*

Professor Van Millingen's view (as stated in conversation) has always been that these inscriptions were painted on the walls immediately after the construction of the gateway to celebrate the triumphal entry of Theodosius I. in A.D. 391, after crushing the rebellion of Maximus in the West.

The names of the soldiers are apparently the same on the two sides, and the fragmentary inscriptions complete one another.

In the list of soldiers under the disposition of the Magister peditum praesentalis in the West (*Not. Dign. Occ.*) are :—

V. 158, Cornuti seniores stationed in Italy.
V. 169, Cornuti iuniores „ „ „
V. 171, Leones seniores „ „ Gallia.
V. 172, Leones iuniores „ „ Italy.

Under the disposition of the Comes and Magister equitum praesentalis in the West are :—

VI. 49, Equites Cornuti seniores stationed in Italy (?).
VI. 50, Equites Cornuti iuniores „ „ Gallia or Italy (?).
VI. 69, Equites primo sagittarii „ „ Africa.

These titles agree closely with those of the inscription, but the Eastern titles are not in such close agreement as we find under the disposition of the Magister militum per Orientem.

33, Equites primi sagittarii *

under the disposition of the Magister militum praesentalis.

V. 30, VI. 31, Comites sagittarii iuniores (and Armeni),
V. 54 f., VI. 54 f., Sagittarii seniores (and iuniores) Gallicani (and Orientales),

under the disposition of the Magister militum per Thracias.

30, 31, Equites sagittarii seniores and iuniores.

It would appear that (unless titles had changed greatly between the date of the *Notitiae Dignitatum Or. et Occ.* and the making of the inscriptions on the Golden Gate) the soldiers mentioned in these inscriptions were part of the Western armies which had come to aid or reinforce the East.

The epigraphic evidence (which Prof. O. Hirschfeld recounts in a communication to me) favours the same conclusion. The two bodies of troops, Leones and Cornuti, are mentioned only in Italian inscriptions :—

* Considering the formula in the inscriptions and the *Not. Occid.*, vii., 69, just quoted, we might suspect that *primi* is an error for *primo*.

Leones seniores, *C.I.L.*, v., 8755 (about A.D. 400).*
Cornuti seniores, *C.I.L.*, vi., 32963 (A.D. 398-422).

Ammianus mentions the Cornuti frequently about A.D. 360, and especially in association with Gallic troops. Boecking connects the name with Carnutum.

All authorities which mention these bodies of troops belong to the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, and this confirms the view which Prof. Van Millingen has consistently maintained, that the inscriptions are contemporary with the building of the Golden Gate and the victorious entry of Theodosius I. in A.D. 391.

Prof. O. Hirschfeld considers that the inscriptions on the Gate may be confidently dated somewhere about A.D. 400.

As Theodosius was returning from the West in 391, it seems possible that he brought some Western soldiers with him, and that these *leones* and *cornuti* were singled out for special distinction on account of their services (perhaps their loyalty during the revolt).

The form of the Latin letters might seem perhaps to favour a later date ; but such arguments from the shape of letters are far from strong.

## XI. THE TOMB AS A SANCTUARY IN PHRYGIA.

1. Eski-Sheher (R. 1906). Stele : letters underneath a garland.

Αἰνίας Ἀπολω- ντῶντι εὐχ-
νίδου συνβίῳ ήν.
Νάνᾳ κὲ Διῖ Βρο-

The dedication to the dead woman is coupled with a dedication to the local god. Zeus the Thunderer was widely worshipped in this northern region of Phrygia, and a dedicator in Rome to this deity has been recognised as a North-Phrygian on that account in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, 1882, p. 124, where the traces of this worship were first collected.

2. Eski-Sheher (R. 1906). On a stele, underneath a very rude relief, Zeus holding a sceptre, with an eagle beside him.

* See *C.I.L.*, v., p. 1058, for the date.

Μένανδρος Ἵπ-
πωνος κὲ Ἀμμ[ί-
α οἱ θρέψαντες
κὲ Ἀπολλώνι-
ος κὲ Διονύσιος
Τείμωνι συντρ[ό-
φῳ κὲ Διὶ Δαγουστη[νῷ?
ἀνέστησαν

The grave of Timon is made by his foster-parents and by two foster-brothers. The dedication to the dead is at the same time a dedication to a certain impersonation of the divine nature, here called by the Greek name Zeus with a local ethnic. In sepulchral-dedicatory inscriptions of this class (as *e.g.* the preceding epitaph) the dedication usually is to the local god. In the present case family or personal reasons have led to the substitution of a peculiar and otherwise unknown god for the local deity. The fact demands investigation and explanation.

The epithet Δαγουστη given to Zeus in this inscription is remarkable. I tried to read the word as Δαγουττη, for the Bithynian district or town Dagouta suggested itself to me immediately; but the text is certain. After I returned to the hotel doubt again assailed me, and I drove back to verify the point a second time. The stone admits of no doubt. There is a broad edge on each side of the inscription, and this edge, which has suffered much from the water flowing over it, may have borne the two missing letters, so that I have restored the title as Δαγουστη[νῷ], which seems more probable than Δαγούστῃ, implying a nominative Δαγούστης. I believe that the stone-cutter made an error, engraving ⊏T in place of TT, and that the true epithet is Δαγουττηνῷ, a local title derived from the district Dagouta or Dagoutta.

Now Dagouta was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Prousa (modern Broussa), as is now definitely proved by an inscription found there. Dr. Wiegand, who published the inscription in *Mitth. Inst. Ath.*, 1905, p. 323, rightly drew the geographical inference: compare also *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 190. H. Kiepert suggested that it was the old name of Hadriani; but it was perhaps nearer to Mt. Olympus. It is natural to conjecture that Timon was a native of

Dagoutta, and reverenced the god of his people (who are called Dagotthenoi by Constantine Porphyro-genitus).

The same persons are mentioned in another inscription, which has been published by Professor Domaszewski, *A.E.M.*, vii., 178, by Professor Radet, *En Phrygie*, p. 149, and by myself. I give my own copy (made in 1883) as published in *J.H.S.*, 1884, p. 255.

3. Μένανδ[ρ]ος [Ἴπ]πω-
νος καὶ Ἀμείας Τεί-
μωνι θρεπτῷ, καὶ
4 Ἀπολλώνιος
καὶ Διονύσιος συν-
τρόφῳ, ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἰδίων Διὶ Βρον-
8 τῶντι

Domaszewski read [Ἀπ]ίωνος, Radet [Καπ]ίτωνος ; but the reading -πωνος is now proved to have been accurate.* Both read εἰδίων, doubtless rightly : I did not see the first letter of this word.

This stone was built into the old bridge over the river Tembris : the other was found along with many others beside the old bed of the river, and it is evident from the incrustation that the river flowed over them for centuries and deposited calcareous matter over the surface of the stones. Doubtless both stones originally were placed at the same spot, *viz.*, on the lot of land in which the grave of Timon was made.

The circumstances now become clear. Two dedicatory and sepulchral inscriptions were placed on the grave of Timon. One identified him with the local deity of Dorylaion. The other identified him with another form of Zeus, which for some reason was dear to the survivors. We may, of course, confidently assume that the ultimate identity of the god under those two local varieties was understood by the dedicators : many inscriptions prove that this religious view was familiar during the Roman period in Phrygia, *viz.*, that the ultimate deity is the same under local variations. If we have rightly explained the epithet Dagoustenos, Menander or Amias †

* The traces of letters in the gap (especially in M. Radet's copy) seem to prove that A was not one of the lost letters, therefore [Ἄ]πωνος cannot be read.

† The name Ammia and Ameias (*i.e.* Amias, Ammias) are here merely accidental variations : compare pp. 143-5, where the same person is called Ammia and Ammias in two successive lines (see Franz, *C.I.G.*, 3856 *add.* ; Kretschmer, *Einl. i. d. G. d. gr. Spr.*, p. 339 f.

was a native of the district Dagouta, settled in Dorylaion ; and the two epitaphs express the identity of the two local varieties of Zeus, the Thunderer and the god with the eagle.

The close relation in Anatolian custom between dedicatory and sepulchral formulæ or ceremonies has often been pointed out by the present writer, and Professor A. Körte of Basel has championed the opposing view that the two classes of formulæ should be kept apart except in those indubitable cases where an inscription unites the two sides in an unmistakable way. But that abandons the attempt to explain why the same stone should be at once dedicated to a god and consecrated as a gravestone. The old Anatolian custom regarded the dead as merged in the deity, and the gravestone as in itself a dedication to the god ; and the most religious and the least educated people kept up the old custom.

In Greece, on the contrary, the dedicatory or votive offering was wholly distinct from the gravestone, and Greek custom affected Asia Minor. But the Greek kind of mere dedication to a god, devoid of sepulchral association, was exotic and exceptional in places where the old Phrygian manners were preserved. In the more Hellenised Phrygian cities the Greek custom was prevalent, the epitaphs tended to approximate to the simple Greek style, and the dedications to become a class apart. In Phrygian centres the epitaphs were felt to be religious documents, and the making of the grave a religious act. Even when a person prepared a grave for himself, he placed it under Divine protection by dedicating it to the deity ; still more so, when he made the grave for another and thereby instituted a cult at a shrine, where his relative lay.

It seems probable that in Phrygia and Anatolia generally, apart from Greek influence, it was customary to bury the dead, not along the roads leading out from the city (as in Greece and beside the great Hellenised Anatolian cities), but in cemeteries beside or around the central Hieron. The evidence for this opinion is incomplete and far from satisfactory ; and I mention it here chiefly in order to direct

the attention of explorers to the subject. Evidence might be found in many cases, if one were on the outlook for it. In *J.H.S.*, 1905, p. 164, one of these cemeteries is briefly described on the hill of the Magna Mater at Nova Isaura ; and another at Nakoleia is alluded to in *J.H.S.*, 1884, p. 257. The latter, to judge from the accounts of the natives, was scattered over a field ; and stones of the same shape were found wherever the ground was opened ; of the inscriptions on these stones some were expressed as sepulchral, some as dedications to the local God Zeus Papas (Father), some as both. The presence of dedications on the stones furnished the proof that they were placed on holy ground near a Hieron. Any one who looked at those stones would recognise them at once as gravestones of the poor, without reading the inscriptions : they were small stelai of common stone, with pointed top and a projecting spike at the bottom to enable them to be easily fixed in the ground. I was able to get evidence that many stones of this kind, with very rude, ill-engraved inscriptions, some of which were hopelessly obliterated, had been found in the field above mentioned. It is, of course, not to be supposed that all the gravestones of the cemetery were of this poor class, but it happened that a number of this kind were dug up between my visits in 1881 and 1883, and thus I was able to trace their place of origin. Doubtless many of the more expensive stones copied at Nakoleia in buildings and in modern cemeteries, with sepulchral or dedicatory inscriptions, were found in the same ancient cemetery. The same belief operated here, as at the Gygaean Lake Koloe near Sardis and elsewhere. The dead were brought back to the Mother-Goddess who bore them and nourished them and directed their work and life.

The gravestones of this Dorylaion group were apparently situated, after the Greek and Roman city-fashion, along the important road leading from the city to the baths at the splendid hot springs ; but some of them retained the old Phrygian character. Mixed with epitaphs of the ordinary Græco-Roman kind are stones with epitaphs and dedications to the god combined and stones with dedications alone.

It may be doubted whether in old Phrygian custom there was any sacred place without a grave. Every place which was placed under divine protection for the benefit of society was (as I believe) consecrated by a grave. Some of the mounds in Phrygia were, probably, intended for places of observation or defence, and a grave found in them would not prove that they were purely and solely sepulchral: the grave consecrated them and gave them divine protection. Hence it is (as I have often contended) altogether false method to ask whether the Midas-monument was a grave or a shrine; yet that problem has been discussed by many recent scholars. The question is false, and the discussion can only lead to error. By proving that the monument was a shrine, you do not disprove its sepulchral character. It was, and must be, both a grave and a shrine.

The old custom remains strong throughout Christian and Moslem time. Wherever a Moslem Turbe is built to express in Mohammedan form the religious awe with which the Moslem population still regards all the old holy places, there is always in or under it the grave of some old supposed Moslem hero, and a Moslem legend grows up, and divine power is manifested there with miraculous cures.

I may gather together here some other examples of the old custom.

4. (A. Körte) North Eastern Phrygia. Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ Σόλων ἱερὸς κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν Δ[ι]ὸς Δίῳ εὐχὴν καὶ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν. Here Solon, in service at an Anatolian hieron, was ordered by the god to fulfil a vow, and in the same act of dedication he made the grave for himself: it seems to have been regarded as almost a duty to prepare in life a grave for oneself. This case is regarded by Körte himself as quite clear (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1897, p. 409).

5. (Anderson in *J.H.S.*, 1899, p. 127) on an altar near the old Phrygian (afterwards Galatian) Kinna. . . . ἐνη Ζωτικῷ τέκνῳ θεῷ μνήμην: the child Zoticus is a god, and the gravestone is the altar of his worship, as Anderson points out.

6. (Radet, *en Phrygie*, p. 147). At Dorylaion Ζηνί τ[ε] μὲν πρώτιστα καὶ Ἀττικῷ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα : his children made the grave to Atticus and dedicated it to Zeus (*i.e.*, Bronton as in other cases).

7. (Radet, *loc. cit.*, p. 148). At Dorylaion Nike with her children Διὶ Βροντῶντι εὐχὴν κὲ Ἀντιόχω ἀνδρί ἀνέστησαν : the vow to Zeus and grave to the husband and father are one act.

These examples might be multiplied. It need only be added that one of the two epitaphs of Timon (like several other epitaphs) shows clearly that the making of the grave was an act of piety needed to bring prosperity and divine favour to the makers (ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων).

The other epitaphs which we copied at Dorylaion may here be added, as they are unpublished.

8. (R. 1906). Dorylaion, on the architrave of an elaborate grave monument in two long lines. Π. Αἰλίωι Σαβεινιανῶι Δημοσθένει στεφανηφόρωι καὶ κτίστηι τῶν Θερμῶν καὶ φιλοπάτριδι. 2 Π. Αἴλιος Σαβεινιανὸς Τίμαιος ὁ ἀδελφός. P. Aelius Sabinianus Demosthenes, a Roman citizen of Dorylaion, had rebuilt or enlarged or improved the bath-house at the hot springs about the middle or end of the second century. He was also the garlanded magistrate who represented in the Greek-Phrygian city the ancient authority and duties of the god's priest.*

9. (R. 1906). Dorylaion, stele with pointed pediment : garland underneath : letters under garland.

Αὐρ. Δημᾶς Ἀσ[ι-
νίου ὑπὲρ ἑαυ-
τοῦ κὲ τῶν ἰδί-
ων πάντων Διὶ Σ-
ημαντικῷ εὐ-
χήν

Zeus Semanticus is the local god Bronton in his aspect as the giver of signs and omens and prophecies.

10. (R. 1906). Dorylaion, stele : letters below garland.

Μηνόφιλ-
ος Συμάχου
ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ
Διὶ Βροντῶντι
εὐχήν.

* *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, i., p. 56.

11. (R. 1906). Dorylaion, stele: eagle above two bull's-heads: letters underneath.

Ἑρμῆς Ἑρμί- ροντῶντι
ου κατ᾽ ἐπι- εὐχήν.
ταγὴν Διὶ Β-

12. (R. 1906). Dorylaion, stele with pointed pediment, in which is patera and eagle with ring in its mouth. Beneath pediment is a garland: letters below garland.

Πάτης Ἀντιόχ- αὐτοῦ καὶ τέ-
ῳ ἀδελφῶ καὶ κνα πατρὶ ἰδίῳ
Εὐταξία γύνη μνήμης χάριν.

The hieratic ornaments, the eagle and patera, mark this as a sacred stone under the protection of Zeus, even without a formal dedication to him.

13. (R. 1906). Dorylaion, stele with pointed pediment containing garland: beneath are two busts in relief, male and female: below them letters.

Αὐρ.
Ἀλεκκᾶς Μη- Ἵππων κὲ Ἑρμῆς κὲ Ἀλε-
νοφίλου Πρείμῃ κᾶς γονεῦσι μνή-
συνβίῳ κὲ ἑαυτῷ. μης χάριν.

The hieratic character has almost disappeared here, unless the garland can be taken as a mark of dedication to the God.

14. (R. 1906). Dorylaion, plain stele.

Αἰνίας [Μην]οφίλ-
ου [. . . . . .]κῷ θ[ρε-
πτῷ [μνή]μης χάριν.

All religious character has been lost here and in the following.

15. (R. 1906). Dorylaion, plain stele: letters in panel.

[. . .] Μενάνδρῳ ἀν- ς καὶ Διονύσιος κ-
δ[ρ]ὶ ἰδίῳ, καὶ τὰ τέκ- αὶ Θεογένης πατ-
να αὐτῶν Τείμαιο- ρὶ μνήμης χάριν.

The sepulchral formula was either *ἀνέστησε τὸν πατέρα* or *ἀνέστησε τῷ πατρὶ βωμόν* (or other name for the monument).

But sometimes the two accusatives are combined, *ἀνέστησα τὸν πατέρα βωμόν*, and the double construction is extended to other verbs used in epitaphs such as *κοσμεῖν*. So *e.g.*, p. 170, No. 53, *ἔστησαν τειμὴν Ἰττέα*. Two cases of this construction have provoked disagreement among scholars. Sterrett, *Wolfe Exped.*, 153, has *ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτὸν λέοντα*; 154, *ἀνέθηκεν ἑαυτὸν λέοντα* (both recopied by Callander); 26, *ἀνέστησε Τήλεφον καὶ . . . καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀετόν* (recopied by me): * he gives no explanation. Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 679, n. 8, understands these as grades of initiation in the Mithraic mysteries (lion fourth, eagle or hawk seventh). Cumont, *Monum. rel. au cult de M.*, p. 173, is inclined to accept Rohde's view, but points out that no dedications to Mithras occur in these lands, and that the grade of eagle is mentioned only in a corrupt passage of Porphyry. The lion and the pediment (not the eagle) are merely names for the sepulchral monument. Many Pisidian and Isaurian monuments are surmounted by a single lion: some which I have seen consisted apparently almost entirely of a lion (so far as concerns the structure above ground). Sterrett, No. 64, has a Christian grave with the inscription *μνήμη Κώνωνος* ΛΙΝ, and the figure of a lion: the letters omitted in his transcription are the name of the monument; compare the "Door" which sometimes appears on Phrygian graves in the name only, sometimes in the carved representation, sometimes in both ways (see p. 65). The "pediment" in the other case is a monument which had the form of the front of a small temple. Finally, the usage is extended further in the metrical epitaph on p. 139 of this volume, *πρίν σε νυφικὸν ἰστέφανον κοσμήσαμεν*, before we made thee the bridal wreath as adornment. Kaibel, not knowing the usage of epitaphs (in which *κοσμεῖν*, *τιμᾶν*, are common) resorts to "emendation" to get rid of the double accusative.

Thus we find the grave named not only *τύμβος*, etc., but also "pediment," "door," "lion" (*λίν*, *λέοντα*), altar, etc.

* I see it is also given by MM. Radet and Paris, *B.C.H.*, 1886, p. 510.

# VIII.

# THE WAR OF MOSLEM AND CHRISTIAN FOR THE POSSESSION OF ASIA MINOR.

W. M. RAMSAY.

# THE WAR OF MOSLEM AND CHRISTIAN FOR THE POSSESSION OF ASIA MINOR.

THE REDE LECTURE FOR 1906 IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

THE war between Christian and Moslem for the soil of Asia Minor began with the invasion of Cilicia by the Mohammedan Arabs in A.D. 641, and ended in a certain sense with the definitive conquest of Cilicia by Sultan Selim about 1516. It would be utterly impossible, within the narrow limits of a single lecture, to sketch even in outline the events of nearly nine hundred years of war. Our time will be better employed in attempting to understand the character of the struggle, the nature of the two powers, those two systems of religion and society, which disputed with one another the possession of what was at one time the richest and most highly civilised part of the world, the peninsula of Anatolia or Asia Minor.

While in itself a well-defined period, this long war forms only an episode in that great epic of history, the never-ending struggle between East and West, between Asiatic and European. The struggle has sometimes taken the form of peaceful intercourse, interpenetration and even amalgamation, but generally of war, open or hidden ; and the best hope for the future of the world is that the struggle should be made into a balance and harmony of diverse elements. That Asiatic and European should amalgamate is pronounced impossible by those who see how hopelessly diverse the peoples are ; and it must be acknowledged that so long as Europe governs parts of Asia on purely European methods, the struggle continues in the form of discontent, aversion and potential war.

But the experiment has been successfully tried in the past, and may be successful in a still greater degree in the future, if rightly managed.

The crisis of that great struggle has generally lain in Asia Minor, the peninsula which bridges the sea and offers the best road and the chief battle-ground between the two continents. In written records we can trace the history from the Trojan War downwards; and whatever the purely literary critic may say, no historian can ever disbelieve in the historical groundwork of the *Iliad*, just because the Epic of Homer sets before us this first stage in a real movement; the whole of subsequent history is a demonstration that the *Iliad* tells of a war that was really fought out to its issue on the plains of windy Troy.

What a series of epoch-making figures have marched across the stage of Anatolia in history! Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, Agesilaus, Alexander and his many successor-kings, Scipio, Mithridates, Lucullus, Pompey, Cæsar, mark the scenes during Greek and early Roman times. Under the successors of Alexander a peaceful mingling of the races began, in the great garrison cities which they founded to be centres of the Orientalised Hellenism that marked and consolidated their empires. In Roman Imperial time this peaceful amalgamation was continued even more successfully. A Græco-Roman-Oriental civilisation ruled in the Anatolian cities and affected even the villages and the tribal peoples, who had not yet entered on the stage of city life and municipal self-government. The Western power, which had for a short time overrun even Central Asia as far as Bactria and the Indus valley, shrank westwards into narrower limits. The Parthian East withstood and threw back every Roman attack. Within the Roman Empire the outlying parts were growing in importance, and the pre-eminence of Rome was becoming an antiquarian survival. The provinces were no longer content to accept their tone from Rome. Their national character began to emerge anew, and their merely provincial character to be less important. In

Asia Minor the national lines of demarcation were restored and the Oriental temper began to recreate itself in new ways, alike in art and in thought. Hadrian was the Emperor who first began to observe and respect the new spirit.

The change was entirely a healthy one. It did not imply disintegration of the Empire. It made a true Imperial unity possible, a combination of diverse parts all conscious of their own individual diverse characters and of their common brotherhood. To earlier Greek and Roman thought the city was the highest and the dearest idea, and patriotism was the religion of the *patria* or city: but under the Empire a stage of thought was gradually reached, not merely by a few philosophers but by general consent, in which the sense of brotherhood and participation in the rights of the entire State overpowered the narrower municipal patriotism.

The Christian religion was the fullest expression of this uprising of the provinces against Rome. For a time it seemed as if the new Christian Empire of Constantine and his successors might re-invigorate the Empire. Mommsen has well described in two brief sentences the strengthening effect produced on the Government when Christianity became the ruling religion of the State, and the Emperors went over to it.* "The indifference towards religious and intellectual development generally," he adds, "which was characteristic of the Imperial administration in the first three centuries, was no element of strength." Even toleration was found to be inconsistent with the aims of the Imperial rule; and the Christian Emperors founded their absolutism on the thoroughgoing support of the Orthodox Church. Their alliance rested on the understanding that each must try to destroy all opponents of the absolute power of the other.

For a time it seemed possible that this great institution, the Empire, might continue to live sound and grow stronger, preserving the proper balance and co-ordination of its parts. But the body social

* *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. lxiv. (N.F. 28), p. 421.

was not healthy enough ; the great fault of the Roman Empire, the failure to appreciate the necessity for public education, proved its ruin. The Christian organisation suffered from the same cause. There seems to have been in the Church less insistence on the importance of education during the fifth century and later than there had previously been. In 449, at the Council of Constantinople, a bishop who could help to make the laws of the Universal Church was unable to append his own signature because he had not learned his letters. Christianity is the religion of a highly educated people, and when the Church lost its grasp of this fundamental principle it lost its real vitality.

It was perhaps about A.D. 300 that the Church began to lose its hold of this principle. The persecution of Diocletian had exterminated the leading spirits and the freest thought in the Church, and put an end to the generous development, the concession and the liberality by which people of diverse views were practically reconciled in the society of the later third century in Asia Minor.* The massacre left no one able to withstand the barbarising anti-Greek tendencies which some of the extremists and the bigots in the Church had always shown. The policy of massacre is always not merely a crime, which is evanescent in its effects, but a terrible and lasting blow to civilisation and humanity. The massacre carried out by the orders of Diocletian and his co-Emperors not merely weakened the Empire : it hardened and embittered the Church, and left it less friendly to education and refinement. The result gradually was the paganising of the Church, and the practical re-introduction of the old polytheism under the form of worship of the saints and of images—*e.g.*, the ancient " Mother of the Gods " was restored to the veneration of the multitude as the " Mother of God " during the fifth century.

The paganising tendency, allied with the artistic instinct, was supported mostly by the Greek and the European element in the Church. The Semitic and the Eastern element generally had a

* *Contemporary Review*, September, 1896, p. 440 f.

firmer grasp of monotheism ; and the strongest opposition which the paganisation of the Church provoked was in the East. Such sects and tendencies as the Nestorians, and the later Paulicians and Iconoclasts, were mainly Oriental in origin and character. But the strongest and the most definite and epoch-making reaction against the new paganism arose on the extreme south-eastern outskirts of the Empire and in the deserts beyond its bounds. In the heart of Arabia, at the beginning of the seventh century, a new religious idea was born in the mind of Mohammed, an idea in many respects strong, sound and full of the potentiality of development. It was one more attempt to fuse a new compound out of Asiatic thought by the admixture of some Western elements, gathered out of Christian teaching ; but its immediate strength lay in its Semitic character. It appealed more directly and easily to the nations on that account ; and throughout its history it has possessed the most remarkable and unique power of suddenly raising a barbarian or a savage race to a much loftier moral platform in the first enthusiasm of a new religious idea.

But the fire of inspiration, which really lived at first in Islam, was quenched in the blood of a long career of continuous war and conquest. The fresh enthusiasm of this young thought went forth to consume the idolatry of the Empire, and sought to achieve this noble purpose by the Holy War and the slaughter of the infidels. The centuries of war and plunder that marked the early course of Islam produced their inevitable brutalising and degrading effect, as influence fell into the hands of mere brute strength or cunning. As war became more and more the business of the true believer in Islam, thought, education, religion, society, family life, all deteriorated. Especially, the one fatal error of Islam, *viz.*, the low estimation of woman—which was probably due in great part to the reaction against the idea of the cult of "the Mother of God," and might readily have been gradually eliminated in happier circumstances—that fatal error was intensified by the overwhelming value attached to simple strength and skill in constant fighting ; the intellectual and spiritual

standard among women was depreciated ; and the inevitable result was the destruction of all that training of the young in ideals in the home by the mother which alone can make a progressive people, and which is so painfully lacking in the land of Turkey. Hence the history of Islam everywhere is marked by a sudden elevation to a lofty height of burning enthusiasm, followed by a long and steady decay. In happier circumstances, more favourable to development, Islam might have continued to be, as it was at first, a purer and higher faith than that of the debased and paganised Church ; and the fiery enthusiasm with which its simple and lofty monotheism was hailed by its converts might have been worked into a growing and healthy social system. It contained within itself much of the essential thought of Christianity ; and the fundamental dogma that Jesus was divine, whereas Mohammed was human, possessed vast potentiality.

Such were the two forms of religion, with different social ideals and systems founded on them, which fought for the soil of Anatolia —the paganised Church and the monotheistic reaction from paganism—the former with its gaudy ceremonial and holy painted images and gold or tinsel and finery of every degree, the latter with its grave and simple dignity. In the long wars which followed almost all intermediate and reconciling forms of belief were annihilated or expelled—the purer and nobler sects of Christians on the one hand, the purer and nobler possibilities of Islam on the other. Massacre and war became the method on both sides, and massacre and war are always permanently harmful, often absolutely fatal, to human progress.

In 622 Mohammed was fleeing from Mecca for his life, alone, without a follower. In 641 his followers, having already overwhelmed the whole of Syria, crossed into Cilicia by the pass of the Syrian Gates, and the long struggle for Asia Minor began. At first the sea was the chosen line of attack, for thus it was possible to strike direct at the Roman capital, now no longer Rome, but Constantinople. The centre of gravity of the Empire shifted towards

the East, as Diocletian perceived ; but it was Constantine who saw where the exact centre of gravity lay, and his insight re-made the Empire and determined all subsequent history. Beyond any other city of the world, Constantinople derives its importance from its situation. No other city could have defended the West against the power of the East, and maintained Christianity against Islam, for 1,000 years. Diocletian had not erred far from the right centre. Nicomedia, which he selected, was a great city, possessing some remarkable advantages of situation at the head of that sea-arm which stretches furthest into the land of Asia Minor. But Nicomedia could never have stood against the power of the East as Constantinople did. Chalcedon, on its narrow little neck of land over against Constantinople, had some advantages of situation, but could never have become a great or a strong city.

Constantinople is unique in another respect. I know of no other city which stands outside of the country for which it is the best centre of communication and distribution ; but that is the case with Constantinople. The land-roads of Asia Minor meet at Nicomedia, not very far away ; but Constantinople is the place where the sea-ways converge. Cyzicus is its only rival, in the latter respect, but Cyzicus is hopelessly far away from the centre of the land-roads. Symrna now, and Ephesus and Miletus of old, were doors to communicate with the West, not real centres.

With that instinct which in their early years of conquest made them strike direct at the heart of their foe, the Mohammedans at the very beginning of their war in Asia Minor aimed at Constantinople. In 654 the great fleet destined for the capture of that city sailed from Tripoli ; but it gained so dear a victory on the Lycian coast that it had to return to Syria. In 668 the enterprise was renewed, and Constantinople was besieged intermittently for seven years. Had the capital fallen, the whole country of Anatolia, deprived of head and guidance, accustomed to depend entirely on the central autocracy and the army, must have fallen under the power of the Khalifs, and

the population would have been presented with the choice between Islam and death or slavery. In 617 another unsuccessful attempt was made to capture the great city.

The two sieges of Constantinople marked the utmost limit of Mohammedan advance; but the turning of the wave of conquest was not a case where the tide having reached its natural limit began to turn and to ebb. The full strength of the flood in its first impulse beat on the defences of Constantinople, and beat in vain. The other method of gradual conquest had to be tried; and gradual conquest meant three centuries of almost ceaseless war in Asia Minor. Even when there was nominally peace between the Khalif and the Emperor, Saracen government was too loose to control its own forces, and raids of regular armies from Tarsus, the western metropolis of the Arab power, swept over the Roman country practically every year, often twice in one year. The country had lain open and hardly defended before them for many years, until Leo the Isaurian reorganised the army, restored vigour to the Empire, repelled the second Moslem assault on Constantinople, and gained the first decisive victory in a pitched battle, fairly fought on land against a Saracen army in 739 at Akroenos. The situation of this battle proves the line of march to have been along the great road through Phrygia Paroreios, the line indicated by nature as the best for a great army of invasion, described by the Arab soldier and geographer Ibn Khordadhbeh, and traversed by many great armies before and since.

The fixing of the true site of that obscure town Akroenos, by an argument founded on a historical incident occurring centuries later and described by Anna Comnena, was one of the earliest results of the Asia Minor Exploration Fund in 1882; and the discovery was the needed foundation for a study of the Saracen Wars. The site had previously been falsely assigned on a very plausible and seductive line of reasoning, which is related to such a strange romance of literature and religion that I must dwell on it for a brief space. The army of the Saracens was led by a famous general, Seid-el-Batal-el-Ghazi (Seid

the Wicked the Conqueror), who was killed in the battle. The graves of the Conqueror and of the Greek princess, his wife, are shown to the present day at a town in the north of Phrygia which bears his name, within a large Tekke, or sacred building, dedicated to his memory. Where he fell there he was buried ; the case at the first glance seemed complete, and was accepted without question by the historian Finlay.* But this Mohammedan foundation is, of course, only of the Turkish period. How was Seid's memory preserved at the place where he died among the Christians for four centuries or more? And how does his wife, the Christian princess, lie beside him? She was not killed in the battle, and she can hardly have come to this remote town to devote herself at his grave. We have here only a religious legend. Seid-el-Ghazi became in some unexplained way one of the great heroes of the Bektash Dervishes and of the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor. His memory is hallowed at many places over the country, on the lonely top of Argaeus, at the ancient Hittite city on the borders of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, as well as in the North-Phrygian town that bears his name. That his grave is shown at the Tekke is due not to any real burial there, or to any memory of his death perpetuated there, but simply to that unfailing religious principle in Anatolia that every sacred place must be marked by a grave. Such was the law of the ancient Anatolian religion of Cybele, or Artemis, or whatever local name was used for the goddess. The same sacred places were marked by the graves of Christian saints, and now holy places by the thousand all over Asia Minor are distinguished by the grave of some Mohammedan hero or saint. In every case the grave has been the centre of the religious awe attaching to the locality, and is so still. One finds the grave of the same Mohammedan hero in several parts of Anatolia ; and the religious map of the country which I have long desired to see compiled by the combined labours of several

* Neither Kiepert nor Franz observed the coincidence, and they escaped this error, but fell into another equally mischievous and yet equally seductive and plausible.

explorers* would doubtless show several graves of Seid the Conqueror.

His wife, the Christian princess, is not a whit more historical than his grave. She is merely part of the religious legend. There is an obvious reason for making her a Christian: she passes on to her husband the right of inheritance according to primitive Anatolian custom of inheritance in the female line. The hero of the Mohammedan conquest must marry the heiress, and legitimise his violent seizure of the property. It is a striking fact, and one which must be borne in mind in order to comprehend rightly the relation between Moslem and Christian in Turkey, that there are so many circumstances, stories, beliefs and customs, showing the recognition by the Moslems of a certain priority and superiority of right that belongs to the Christians. At Constantinople you have the sacred spring with the fish which shall never be caught until the Christians recover possession of the city: the spring is as sacred to Mohammedans as to Christians, and on the day of the Panegyris you see both taking part in the ceremony and availing themselves of the curative powers of the holy water. In various other Greek festivals in different parts of Asia Minor the Turks also participate. At Thyatira there is a mosque in which is a column that weeps whenever a Christian enters; and high above the roof is a small cross, the removal of which would cause the collapse of the mosque (which was once a church, round and of quite unusual architectural character). At Konia the church of St. Amphilochius was transformed into a mosque, but every Moslem who prayed in it died, so that it was abandoned, and a wooden clock-tower built on the roof. In Damascus and Jerusalem and elsewhere familiar legends speak of the prospect that the Christians may recover possession of the churches that have been transformed into mosques, or even of the cities and of the entire country. A certain sense of the evanescence and incompleteness of their rights is shown by legends like these,

* It was described in a paper read before the Oriental Congress in London, 1902.

current among the Turks and in some cases among the Arabs before them. There is no irreconcilability between the two parties, when such beliefs are common ; and every one that has lived in Turkey can attest this easiness of relation between the two religions. The inference is inevitable, and I venture to quote it from the first book I wrote on this country. "I believe that the Turks as soldiers and the Greeks as traders will, united, make a happier country than either race could by itself." * The conciliation is easy, and follows at once naturally wherever there is fair and orderly administration.

The defence of Asia Minor against the Saracen raids was organised by the Iconoclast Emperors. It consisted partly in a re-modelling of the army to suit the new conditions of warfare, partly in a great system of castle-fortresses, and partly in a re-invigoration of the people of the country, teaching them to trust more to themselves. The fortresses were no longer, as in Roman time, scientifically constructed, and dependent for their strength on the discipline and courage of their garrisons. Such fortresses had proved too weak to stand against the headlong enthusiasm and desperate assault of the Mussulmans. The Byzantine castles were now defended by their inaccessible position. They were planted sometimes on lofty rocks, accessible only by a narrow steep path or even by steps alone, sometimes on the summit of high hills, up whose long steep slopes no assault could be pressed. Such castles were proof against any sudden attack which could be made in the yearly raids of the Saracens, but they could not easily be supplied with food and water sufficient to last through a regular siege. After A.D. 739, however, the first enthusiasm of Islam was spent, and it was only on rare occasions that a Khalif, roused generally by some personal cause, exerted himself to make a serious attempt to subdue the country ; and every one of those attempts, having no support in any real religious enthusiasm, was quickly abandoned, after reducing a few of the Byzantine castles,

* *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 25, repeated and enlarged in *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 258.

burning a few cities, and carrying into slavery some thousands of Christians. The castles thus captured were abandoned, and re-occupied by the Byzantine troops.

The true defence of Asia Minor during those centuries of suffering lay in the immense strength and recuperative power of civilised society, welded together by a long-established system of reasoned law and by a common religion. The Saracen raiders swept over the country, captured every city, practically, throughout the whole of Asia Minor, in many cases over and over again, burned towns and houses, and carried captive and held to ransom Christians by the thousand. Yet they produced no permanent effect in breaking the resistance. After every wound the flesh of the Byzantine body politic healed forthwith. The country was well peopled and highly cultivated, and one or two harvests restored a district to wealth and prosperity. Nor does it appear that the more slowly-growing sources of wealth were seriously injured. Olive groves and vineyards, if thoroughly destroyed, take years to recreate; especially is this true of the olive, the tree of civilisation, which can flourish only where right of property is firmly established and the planter can look forward with confidence to reaping the fruit of his labour after fifteen years or more, and which dies out (or rather goes back to a wild state) wherever a Moslem population is in sole possession. The measure of the destruction was that stated in the book of the Revelation vi. 6, scarcity and dearness, but not permanent destruction, the cereals injured but not the trees destroyed: "A measure of wheat sold at a denarius, but the olive and the vine left".

The war was fought between a lower society and a higher, between the loose organisation of the Moslem Government and the elaborate, minutely-wrought-out system of Roman law and administration. When the first headlong rush of the Moslem enthusiasts was broken against the walls of Constantinople, the superior lasting power of the Roman State came into play; and the issue, though long delayed, was not doubtful, except in so far as the incapacity of

some rulers and frequent civil wars between rival claimants wasted the resources of the Byzantine Empire. Finlay has seen this truth better than some more modern historians. The Roman Empire, though badly governed in many ways, was better governed, more contented and more prosperous by far than any other. Even in respect of fiscal oppression, while complaints are numerous, the facts are not so certain as is often assumed. Probably it was rather the incidence of taxation than its amount that was unfair and oppressive. The complaints of the tax-payers should not be taken too hastily as the standard of truth ; even those who complained may have known that they were better off after all than they would have been in any other State of the time. This is a subject which deserves and will repay more careful and thorough investigation than it has ever received. What was the real condition of the middle classes in Anatolia in the sixth century before the Saracen wars began, and in the tenth century after they ended? My impression, a mere theory depending on far from sufficient study and knowledge, is that the mass of the population was well off, that the country was highly cultivated and prosperous, that there was comparatively little oppression, and that justice was fairly well administered. We hear of the exceptional cases, where there was injustice and oppression and need ; we hear little of the general average situation. As to the permanent effect produced on the country by the Saracen wars, I doubt if it was very great. The lack of an efficient police system had always been the most serious defect of the Roman administration. It continued to be so. The lack of higher education and higher ideals of life was always manifest in the ordinary citizens of the Empire. That also continued to be so.

The Iconoclast Emperors, by re-invigorating the State, stemmed the tide of Saracen invasion, and the Macedonian dynasty rolled it back. Iconoclasm had not been able to establish itself as the religion of the Empire, for image worship was too deeply fixed in the heart of the people. The reaction against images passed away along with

an effete dynasty. But the Iconoclasts had done their work, and left for the Orthodox Macedonian Emperors the task of gathering the fruits of the re-invigoration of the Empire. The task required ability and energy, and the Macedonian dynasty deserves credit for a great work ; but it was the Iconoclasts that did the hardest work and received the least credit for their achievement. After a century of Macedonian success, Cilicia and North Syria, which had experienced more than three centuries of Moslem rule, were restored to the Empire by Nicephorus Phocus about 965 A.D. The Roman Empire was extended more widely on the eastern side than ever before. The loosely agglutinated Moslem power had proved unfit to make any permanent impression on the close firm texture of a State held together by Roman law and Roman organisation.

Those who love to speculate about the "might have been" in past history will find an enticing subject in theorising about what might have been if Islam had conquered Constantinople and Asia Minor at the first rush in the seventh century, and had thus become heir to all the organisation and law and administrative methods that Roman genius and experience had elaborated. Would Islam have profited by the teaching? Would it have learned how to construct a well-balanced social system and a stable government? Would it have been able to develop the finest side of its nature, and eliminate gradually the worse ideas? Would it have approximated to the purer and simpler forms of Christianity, for which the Mohammedan who really comes in contact with them seems always to feel a strong sympathy? Would it have been recognised by the world in general as the first successful form of Protestantism? Circumstances hitherto have denied to Islam the development of which it is capable, but there are signs that the denial will not last for ever.

The war in Asia Minor began again after a century of unquestioned Christian rule. It opened with startling suddenness. In 1071 a single battle laid the whole country prostrate and helpless before a new Mohammedan people, the Seljuk Turks. The Byzantine

Emperor was taken prisoner, and the State was distracted by the rivalry of three candidates for the throne. These vied with one another and with the captive Emperor for the favour and support of the invaders, and the successful claimant seems to have acknowledged the Seljuks as masters of three-fourths of Asia Minor. I say "seems to have acknowledged," for there is a hiatus in the records, and no historian tells the shameful facts exactly.

Asia Minor had been equally prostrate and helpless before the Saracens about the end of the seventh century, and had recovered strength with astonishing ease. The Seljuk conquest was more lasting. The reasons for this difference are twofold. They lie partly in the nature of the Turkish invaders and partly in the demoralised state of Byzantine Asia Minor.

The Saracens had never held a foot of land on the north side of the Taurus Mountains outside the range of their weapons at the moment. But the Turkish armies were followed by a terrible ally, the Turkmens or nomad tribes, who poured over the country like a sea. What the reason of this vast migration may have been, whether desiccation of Central Asia or some other cause drove those tribes westwards in search of pasture for their cattle, it is not for me to say. The fact is recorded by the Byzantine historians, who distinguish these Turkmens or nomads (as they call them) from the Turks, just as the distinction of Turk and Turkmen is clearly marked and familiar to every native and every traveller at the present day.* These tribes swooped down on the land, driving their flocks with them ; they destroyed the bonds of communication which held society together, made the roads untraversable and dangerous, and quickly reduced a great part of Asia Minor from the settled to the nomadic stage of existence.† The civilised population of the plains disappeared before them, whether by flight or by massacre or by dying out in presence of a more vigorous race. Presumably the smaller villages

* *Anna Comnena*, ii., p. 284 ; *Cinnamus*, p. 295 ; *Nicetas Chon.*, p. 156.

† The process is more fully described in my *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 102 f.

of the Christians were abandoned first, then the larger villages, and even some of the cities ceased to exist or existed only as winter quarters for a few nomads. No details are recorded by the formal historians, but probably much is yet to be learned from less ambitious writers. Often the names of villages preserve the memory of a process that must have taken some time. A new Moslem village, Islam-Keui or Seljukler, existed for a time beside the old Christian town, but the Christians ceased to exist, and both became equally Moslem. This is the only way by which barbarism can conquer a civilised and organised society, apart from actual extermination of the civilised people—*viz.*, by breaking up the fabric and constitution of the superior society and reducing it to disconnected atoms, which gradually melt away in the flood.

The second cause which rendered the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor more complete and permanent than the Saracen lay in the declining vitality, the loss of Imperial patriotism and the growing disintegration of the Empire. The century of recovered power had not increased but rather decreased its real vigour. The intolerance and persecution of the orthodox Macedonian dynasty had been in some degree restrained so long as the Saracen wars enforced the necessity of union against the danger from outside, but when the pressure was withdrawn the later Emperors gave free rein to the spirit of absolutism in civil and intolerance in religious government. The union of autocracy and the Orthodox Church was dangerous and even destructive to freedom, vigour and life. The heretics, who had always been strong on the Anatolian plains, found that their life was a burden under the most Christian Emperors, and the Orthodox historians allow the fact to appear that the heretics welcomed the dominion of the Turks as a relief from Byzantine Christian tyranny.* Probably they found at a later stage that the new state of things was no better than the old, but no record of their feelings and experiences is known. They disappeared entirely in the steady decay and dis-

* *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 97 f.

integration of civilised society. Partly doubtless their Oriental temperament found the spirit of Islam not wholly uncongenial, and they gradually adopted its outward forms in their recoil from the more hated forms of the Orthodox Church. To-day one finds in some parts of Asia Minor remnants of population, Mohammedan in appearance, who are believed to be little better than Christians at heart, to have priests with black hats, to use Christian names for their women, and to drink wine—all alike indications of a Christian spirit. It is not impossible that these may be relics of the old heretic sects. Partly their real affinity with the Mohammedan spirit and its hatred of idolatry and images carried them over to the faith of Islam ; partly they died out in that process of decay which was alluded to above.

This process went on steadily, but probably slowly. A study of the subject is wanted. Meanwhile the staying power of the Roman organisation displayed itself amid its decay. Under a succession of the three able Emperors of the Comnenian dynasty, Alexis, John and Manuel, the Imperial power revived. The Seljuk Turks, who in the latter part of the eleventh century were holding a large part of Bithynia, with the great city of Nicæa, and were thus almost within touch of the coast of the Sea of Marmora facing Constantinople, were in the twelfth century defending their distant capital Konia with some difficulty against the Byzantine armies, and occasionally abandoning it to the Latin soldiers of the first and third Crusades. The former after capturing Nicæa and handing it over to Byzantine rule must have held Konia also, though the movements of their forces are obscure and badly recorded. Barbarossa in 1186 entered Konia in triumph and marched onwards to his death in the waters of the Calycadnus close to the southern sea. This reinforcement materially aided the revival of Byzantine dominion in Asia Minor, however bad was the feeling between Latin and Greek Christians, for it seriously weakened the Seljuk power. In 1175 Manuel Comnenus made a great attempt to reconquer Asia Minor. As the climax of the preparations of three successive reigns, he had arrayed one of the

strongest armies that ever trod the soil of Anatolia. It contained the finest troops of the Empire, among whom the traditions of the Roman soldiery were not wholly lost, and these were strengthened by Varangian infantry and Norman knights. The best that Europe could give from its most warlike nations marched along with the Roman army. The leader was an Emperor whose earlier career had been marked by feats of romantic daring, but the enervating influence of thirty years of autocracy and flattery had deteriorated his character, spoiled his nerve, and destroyed his sanity of judgment. From long experience he knew that no Turkish army could stand in open fight against the soldiers whom he led, and from pure obstinate confidence and contempt for all precaution, against the advice of his officers, he led a long, disorderly column in face of the Turks into such a position that the bulk of the army was jammed up with its baggage into a dense mass, where weapons could hardly be raised, where fighting was impossible, and where the Turks slew the helpless crowd like sheep. And so ended the dream that Rome might reconquer Asia Minor.

The Seljuk Sultanate passed through the usual course of a Mohammedan dynasty, growing weaker and less capable and less energetic as time passed, and the Empire of the Seljuks was broken up and divided between a number of petty chiefs when the central power became too weak to hold the country together. The Roman Emperors of Constantinople had the opportunity of recovering their old sovereignty in Asia Minor, but the Roman Empire had lost its cohesion. It was held together only by the unity of the Orthodox Church, a great power in some respects, but not the bond which can make a strong, offensive and recreative State. Thus we pass on to the last stage but one of Byzantine story, the most melancholy part of human history, where every competing power is feeble and bad, where hardly a gleam of hope from any source lights the path, where all is decay and disorganisation, weakness and folly, or mere rapine and the most selfish and heartless and short-sighted plundering.

Almost the sole relief in those dull and contemptible pages of history is in the story of Philadelphia in Lydia, which long maintained itself as a free, self-governing State, abandoned by the Christian Empire, surrounded but not submerged by the flood of Islam, soldiers and nomads, until at last it was compelled to yield, not to a Mohammedan army, but to a coalition between the most Christian Emperor of Constantinople and the worn-out power of the Turks. There is no more typical moment in this disgraceful period of history than the scene when this free and noble city, a small city which had only a little strength, which had not denied the name of Christ and previously had never made terms with His enemies, which had stood like a pillar in the midst of desolation, at last yielded to the shameful union of Byzantine and Turkish soldiery, and opened its gates on more honourable terms than were granted to any other Christian city of Asia Minor.

The wearisome history of all that long war is not a story of growing strength in the attack on the Christian Empire, but of growing weakness within the Empire, and the cause was always the same: hatred of sect against sect, mutual intolerance and disunion, the denial in practice by all sects alike of every principle of Christian ethics and brotherly love which all talked about in empty and pretentious homilies, but which none of them ever acknowledged in act so far as to concede one jot or one tittle from their full claims for absolute domination. Nothing in history is so shameful and so contemptible as the brawls of Christian sect against sect and priest against priest, where all alike show that in their struggle for the triumph of their wretched parodies of principles they have lost hold on the real qualities of Christianity. And so Mohammedanism conquered in Asia Minor, and we pass on to the last stage of all, the triumph of the Osmanli Turks, originally a small tribe of nomads in the Bithynian hill country, taking its name from its first important chief, Osman. The Osmanlis from their position had been brought more closely into relation with the Roman State than either Saracens

or Seljuks, and they conquered, not by creating a new social and political organisation, but by grafting on Mohammedanism some of the devices and methods of Roman government. The Osmanli chiefs saw wherein lay the military strength of the Roman State, for that proud old name even yet survived and had some real power; they saw that nothing could conquer the Roman army but a trained standing army. Such an army could not be created by Islam from its own resources, but the Osmanlis perceived that it could be constructed out of Christian material. Few more diabolic perversions of human ingenuity have ever occurred than when the system of the Janissaries was formed as a permanent strength to Osmanli power. A harvest of Christian infants was gathered regularly and trained up as a standing Moslem army of skilled soldiers, whose business from infancy had been the practice of arms. The battles against the Christian powers of Europe and against Constantinople itself were won by this terrible engine of slaughter. The nations of civilised Europe, who are now accustomed to estimate the civilisation and the importance of every nation, not according to its education, or its literature, or its art, or the excellence and usefulness of its municipal and Imperial government, but by its provision of a highly trained machinery able to kill the largest number of men at the longest distance in the shortest possible space of time, cannot reasonably refuse their applause and admiration to this detestable invention of an Osmanli chief. Turkish battles were henceforth won, first by wearing down the strength of the opposing army in a long fight against the loose squadrons of Osmanli troops, who could waste time and squander their lives in being defeated, and then at last bringing up the real strength of the Moslem army, the Janissaries, to annihilate the tired and victorious soldiers of Europe. The Moslem conquest was made possible at last, not by real Moslem strength, but by Osmanli skill in playing off Christian against Christian. Christianity can conquer only by union against the floods of barbarism which are always and everywhere threatening to

engulf and drown out civilisation in the world, and union is never possible unless the sects of Christians, each falsely claiming to be the right and true Christianity, learn to respect each other's opinions.

The struggle for possession of Asia Minor has not ended ; it is going on now ; but in recent years the weapons with which it is waged are schools and colleges and railways. Yet there are strong forces that tend to bring in again the method of war : Pan-Islamism aims determinedly at destroying by massacre and war the growth of civilisation in Turkey, and through the quarrels of Germany and England we have been drifting steadily towards that end. The American schools and colleges are the great civilising agency, because they aim at creating an educated class among all nationalities, not converting their pupils to a foreign and un-Oriental form of religion, but making Greeks better Orthodox Greeks, Armenians better Gregorians, Bulgarians better Bulgarians, Turks better Mohammedans. For my own part I feel that a right development of the great ideas inherent in Mohammedanism is possible, that it is making some progress, that this is the only useful and hopeful path, and that the necessary first step in it, the creation of ideals and aspirations among the Moslem women, is being made at the present time.

In these hurried remarks I have often mentioned and might far more frequently have mentioned the need of deeper research. May I recall, in conclusion, the words that Mommsen used to me eleven years ago, when he did me the honour to be my guest for a week in Oxford ? He said one day, in speaking of Eastern Roman discovery and study, "If I had to begin a new life of scholarship I should take up the period between Diocletian and Justinian". That is not the only period in later Roman history that needs and will well repay study, and it is delightful to observe many signs, both elsewhere and in Cambridge itself, that this magnificent opening for research is attracting more and more attention from our younger scholars.

IX.

# THE TEKMOREIAN GUEST-FRIENDS: AN ANTI-CHRISTIAN SOCIETY ON THE IMPERIAL ESTATES AT PISIDIAN ANTIOCH.

W. M. RAMSAY.

# THE TEKMOREIAN GUEST-FRIENDS: AN ANTI-CHRISTIAN SOCIETY ON THE IMPERIAL ESTATES AT PISIDIAN ANTIOCH.

## I. ESTATES OF THE GOD.

It is well known that in the pre-Hellenic Anatolian period the gods who dwelt at the great Temples or Hiera of Asia Minor (such as those of Comana and of Venasa and of Tyana in Cappadocia, of Comana in Pontus, of Pessinus in Galatia, of Zizima in Lycaonia, etc.) owned large property in land. The people who dwelt on the land were the subjects of the god. The system of tenure, the respective rights of the god and of the cultivators, are obscure. The evidence has, as yet, never been collected. It is fairly certain that the government was a theocracy, that the religion was the sum of the rules of conduct in ordinary circumstances, and that in exceptional circumstances the will of the god, as declared through prophets and priests, was authoritative. A first sketch of the Anatolian religion as embodying the whole law of life, the rules for agriculture and for breeding and domestication of animals as well as for family life and the action of individuals, has been given by the writer in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, v., pp. 110 ff. At present our concern is with the fate of those estates after the Anatolian period was ended. How was that primitive system modified under the Greek Kings and the Roman Emperors?

The writer's view is that the estates became the property of the Kings in Hellenistic times and of the Roman Emperors afterwards. This is a principle which may form a working hypothesis

to start from in the case of any of the Anatolian Hiera ; but it must of course be proved by definite evidence, and not merely assumed, in each individual case. The evidence which can be expected in those little-known regions is, of course, slight ; we find, for example, a passing reference in some late author to Imperial property, or an inscription mentions an Imperial slave, managing the property of his lord, in the neighbourhood of some ancient Hieron ; we infer therefrom that the property of the god in more ancient time passed into the hands of the Roman Emperors ; and we then search until we discover some indication, generally very slight, as to the time when the property of the god passed into the hands of sovereigns. Finally, we attempt to find evidence as to the condition of the population in the primitive time and in later times. The subject is only beginning to be studied, and the evidence to be collected.

In this way the landed property of the god at Tyana has been traced in Imperial possession as late as the tenth century.* Various examples in Phrygia are noted in the *Cities and Bishoprics of Phr.*, i., pp. 10 f., 103, 131, 255 ff., 280 ff., and elsewhere. The best example of an Imperial estate in Anatolia, as it was managed in the third century after Christ, is found in the upper Lysis-valley on the frontier of Phrygia and Pisidia, where a group of estates called Hadriana† existed, and a series of important documents have been found. The people who lived on the land were called Ormeleis, and the group of documents found there will be referred to in the sequel as the Ormelian inscriptions : they are described in the *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, i., pp. 280 ff., 304-315 ; Schulten, *Röm. Mittheil.*, 1898, p. 221 ff. ; Rostowzew, *Gesch. der Staatspacht in d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, p. 144 ff., and *Oest. Jahreshefte*, 1901, Beib., p. 37 ff. ; *Diz. Epigraf.*, ii., p. 537 (*conductor*), and iii., p. 100 ff. (*fiscus*) ; and Pelham,

* *Histor. Geogr. of As. Min.*, pp. 173, 348, 449 ; "Pre-Hellenic Art of Cappadocia," pt. i., in Maspero's *Recueil*, vol. xiv.

† (χωρία) Ἀδριανά must have been the full form (*cf.* χωρία Πατριμόνια in Caria, *Cities and Bish.*, i., p. 255) : χωρία Μιλυαδικά also occurs.

*The Imperial Domains and the Colonate.* Another example of less bearing on our present subject is found in the large Imperial estates of the Tembris-valley, on which see Anderson in *J.H.S.*, 1897, p. 417 ff., 1898, p. 341, and in the present volume, p. 188 ff.; Schulten, *Röm. Mitth.*, 1898, p. 221 ff. (first noted in *Histor. Geogr. of As. Minor*, p. 177 ff., *Cities and Bish.*, ii., p. 615); *J.H.S.*, 1899, p. 76.

A second principle about those estates of the Hiera is that the Greek Kings and the Roman Emperors seem often to have given parts of them to the citizens of a new colony which they founded.* This principle is in itself probable, but is hardly susceptible of being proved: the evidence available is too slight. All that can be shown is that in many cases such a colony stood near or at an ancient Hieron.

A third principle is that the Hellenic or Roman city organisation was not usually applied on these estates, except when a *colonia* was founded on the land; but the people remained in the condition of direct subjects of the sovereign, paying taxes or rent to his private officials, who exercised over them the rights of the sovereign. Thus there were no magistrates, in the proper sense of the term, on such estates: in Roman time the chief official was the Emperor's procurator, and contractors who farmed the estate also exercised certain powers: the people on an estate were united in a commune (*κοινόν*), the head of which was called in some cases a proagon (corresponding to the Latin *magister vici*). The terms *vicus*, *κώμη*, *δῆμος*, *χωρίον*, etc., were applied to the town and the estate.

The condition of the population on such an estate was liable gradually to pass into a sort of serfdom, as Professor Pelham has pointed out in his lecture (published) on the *Imperial Domains and the Colonate.* There are a few cases, however, in which part of such an estate was raised to the rank of a city by an Emperor. Rostowzew has studied the development of Pogla in Pisidia from a mere *koinon* to a *polis* (*Oest. Jahreshefte, loc. cit.*). Lagbe or Lagbos was another example: it was the residence of a contractor (*conductor*, *μισθωτής*)

* *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, i., p. 10 f.

during the second century, but, as one coin is known to have been struck there, it must have been made a *polis* afterwards.* Rostowzew omits this case, which furnishes so close an analogy to Pogla. Another case is that of larger villages or towns which probably were on estates, and which can be traced afterwards as bishoprics, though they never struck coins. Such are Tymandos (see § ii.), Kinnaborion (see § viii.) and several others. Probably Soa and Tataion (see § viii.) on the North-Phrygian estate of Tembrion may be ranked along with these: Anderson (p. 187) treats this difficult question well. I should rather count this as one of the unsolved difficulties in regard to the Phrygian estates, than deny that Soa was situated on an estate.

These cases show that, where considerable centres of population grew up on an estate, there was a disposition to raise the town in rank and rights, even in some cases to make it a city-state. But, on the whole, the tendency was that the people on the estates remained in the position of rustics and subjects of the Emperor himself and thus passed in later centuries into serfdom.

A fourth principle is that the priest of the ancient Hieron retained a high position and some kind of authority in the vicus: in other words the development from the old theocratic organisation in a village (or villages) near the Hieron was incomplete: neither had all traces of the first stage disappeared nor were there wanting germs of the Græco-Roman municipal organisation. Rostowzew expresses this principle in the words "the quasi-municipal organisation of the Imperial estate arose out of the organisation in a *collegium* for religious purposes".† The *demos* of the estate was in its religious aspect *plebs collegii* (translated ὄχλος in the Ormelian inscriptions).

The question what was the history of the lands that belonged to the great Hieron of Pisidian Antioch had been simmering in my mind for years. I saw that probably the property of the god had

* *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, i., p. 268.

† *Oest. Jahresh.*, *l.c.*, p. 41.

been taken possession of by Augustus, and that Strabo practically says so ; * but it was not until the first inscription published in the present article was found by us in 1905 that the true significance of a whole series of inscriptions found near Antioch flashed upon me. This series of inscriptions speak of the Tekmoreian Guest-friends ; and as I copied that inscription in 1905, its terms revealed to me that these Guest-friends were really the *plebs collegii* on the Antiochian estates. The nature of the *collegium* and its relation to the political and social and religious and economic conditions of the third century are revealed in these Tekmoreian documents far more clearly than in the Ormelian. Yet the latter may probably be interpreted from the Tekmoreian documents, just as in some ways the Tekmoreian have to be interpreted in the light of the Ormelian inscriptions.

## II. THE IMPERIAL ESTATES ROUND PISIDIAN ANTIOCH.

1. (R. 1905). On a pedestal, 5 ft. 4 in. high, 2 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. broad, in an old cemetery, north of the road, near the north-east end of the Limnai (Egerdir and Hoiran double lakes). The letters are worn and hardly legible : O and C and Є, K and IC, A, Λ and Δ being scarcely distinguishable. The reading, though partly doubtful, is certain in the most important points.

ἐπὶ Μάρκου Φιλείνο[υ
ἱερέος κτίστου Καρβο-
κωμήτου KAIKTIC AN
4 ¯A καὶ Νεῖλλος πραγ-
ματευτ[ὴ]ς [γ]ερεὸς κα[ὶ
δῆμος Καρβοκωμη[τ-
ῶν.

Some part of the verb κτίζω, which I cannot restore, was used at the end of 3. I marked the letters there as hopelessly uncertain.

Greeks often misunderstood and maltreated Roman names. M. (Aurelius) Philinus was doubtless *libertus Aug.*, ruling the estates as priest (*cf.* No. 24). Nilus was *servus Caesaris*, and member of the village Gerousia.

* *Histor. Comm. on Galatians*, p. 211 ; *Classical Review*, 1905, p. 417 f.

Karbokome, already known (see p. 351), is now proved to be near the north-east end of the Limnai, and to have formed part of an estate administered by a πραγματευτής (a Greek rendering of the Roman term *actor* *), a slave manager of the financial interests of his master, the owner of the estate. Karbokome, therefore, was a village on the estate of a Roman, that is to say of the Emperor. Looking at the situation, we cannot doubt that this village was situated on ground which formerly had belonged to the temple of Men Askaênos at Pisidian Antioch (Strabo, p. 577). The priesthood was abolished at the death of Amyntas, by the Roman envoys who were sent to take possession of his whole kingdom, which Augustus made an Imperial province. Augustus claimed the entire property of Amyntas as his inheritance: for Strabo, p. 577, calls it his κληρονομία, and slaves of Amyntas passed into the Imperial household and were there called *Amyntiani*. Probably the words of Strabo do not mean that there ceased to be a priest of the god; but only that he was no longer governor of the vast estates of the god.† It is pretty certain that these estates included most of the land from the north coast of the Limnai round to the east and south coast of Lake Karalis (Bey-Sheher-Lake).‡ Probably part of the valley of Apollonia, west of the Limnai, was included in the god's property; and he was there called Zeus Eurydamenos, § ix. Tymandos or Talbonda in that valley was granted the rights of a city by some Emperor about 300-400 B.C. (*C.I.L.*, iii., 6866): previously it had probably been only part of the Imperial estates.

* On the Ormelian estates (called Hadriana), the πραγματευταί are often mentioned: in *Histor. Geogr.*, p. 173, and *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, i., p. 281, I have given *negotiator* as the usual equivalent, but it was pointed out to me by Prof. Pelham (footnote *Cit. and Bish.*, *loc. cit.*) that *actor* was more probably the Latin correspondent in this case (though πραγματευτὴς in other cases often corresponds to *negotiator*), and both Rostowzew and Schulten, *Röm. Mitth.*, 1898, p. 225, prefer *actor*.

† *Histor. Commentary on Galatians*, p. 211, and on Artemis, § xii.

‡ See "Pisidia and the Lycaonian Frontier," in the *Annual Brit. Sch. Athens*, 1902-3, pp. 248 f., 253 f.

The Greek Kings probably took possession in whole or in part of those great estates, and founded Apollonia and Antioch by granting to the settlers whom they planted there some of the god's land. Similarly, in all probability, Augustus gave to his *coloni* at Antiochia and at Parlais (*i.e.* Bey-Sheher) * part of the Imperial estates: just as, beyond doubt, he gave to his *coloni* at Olbasa part of the Ormelian temple property, which became also Imperial estates. There was doubtless certain property the income of which was pledged for the support of the temple of Men (on the system called *avitum* or *avitum et patritum*) † under superintendence of the *Curator Arcae Sanctuariae*. What remained of the ancient property of the god after deducting the colonial land was the group of estates, revealed in the present inscription and the whole series of inscriptions found on them, which we proceed to describe.

Other traces of the character of this vast region as Imperial estates can be detected. No coins were struck by any city in that immense and fertile region except the colonies Apollonia Antioch and Parlais: ‡ only when we go eastward into the mountain territory of the Orondeis, do we find coins of Pappa-Tiberipolis. The failure of coinage seems inexplicable, except on the supposition that the country was Imperial property, on which no free self-governing city could exist. Again, the term μισθωτής has been restored in the Tekmoreian inscription R. I. (see § iv.), and it is found in the valley of Oinia (Oinan) across the hills north of Karbokome (Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, p. 174, No. 7). Such μισθωταί were a feature of the

* *Annual Brit. Sch. Athens*, 1902-3, pp. 261 f.

† *C.I.L.*, x., 5853, Mommsen; *Hermes*, xii., p. 123: described in my paper on the "Permanent Attachment of Religious Veneration to Sites in Asia Minor," in *Proceedings of the Oriental Congress in London*, 1892, pp. 390 f. See *Histor. Comm. on Galatians*, p. 211 f., and below, p. 375.

‡ Apollonia and Antioch Seleucid: Augustus added Roman coloni to Antioch and founded colonia Parlais. On Apollonia, see pp. 360 *n.*, 366 f.

administration of the Imperial estates : * they were, as a rule, free inhabitants of the district. The inscriptions on the Ormelian estates are regularly dated by the μισθωταί, as is one of the inscriptions on these Antiochian estates (see R. I.).

Moreover, many inscriptions on the estates are dedications on behalf of the Emperor and his household, a characteristic class of documents on such estates (as in the Ormelian inscriptions).

Further, the form of local government by ἀναγραφεύς and βραβευταί † is characteristic of the estates, where the organisation was always Anatolian and devoid of the free, self-governing tone of the Greek polis. βραβευταί are known as officials who managed the business affairs of a *synodos* or *koinon*, *i.e.*, a private society for religious purposes. They seem to have both managed the finance and arranged the festivals of the society. The association of Kaisariastai in an inscription found between Sardis and Cassaba had such Brabeutai,‡ and were probably the population of an Imperial estate, united in a religious society (*plebs collegii*, p. 308).

The Brabeutai were sometimes, perhaps always, appointed annually. Brabeutai seem to be annual officials of a city or village in an inscription of (probably) Tyanollos in the Hermus valley, and in another from Hierocaesareia in the same valley.§ It is therefore probable that they were officials who belonged to a non-Hellenic system. They are hardly found in any place where Hellenic institutions are likely to have taken root.

It belonged to the non-Hellenic character of the estates that there was little education among the people, and a marked devotion to the ancient local religion (Men and Artemis on the Antiochian, Zeus Eurydamenos near Tymandos). Roman education was lacking almost

* See Rostowzew, *Gesch. d. Staatspacht in d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, Philologus Suppl., ix., pp. 332-510: a brief outline of the theory stated in this epoch-making article is given in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, v., p. 394 ff.

† See opening of inscr. R. I. ‡ Buresch, *aus Lydien*, pp. 10, 41, 130.

§ Buresch, *loc. cit.*

entirely on these Roman estates. A brief epitaph of a Roman lady and a bilingual epitaph of an Imperial freedman (with some milestones) are the only traces of the Latin language. So far was the Imperial system from desiring to educate its subjects: it governed them and thought for them.

On the Ormelian estates the priest of the local god is often mentioned, and documents are dated by his name. The Imperial procurator also is regularly mentioned at the head of the *acta*, and evidently was the real governor of the Ormelian land and people; next to him came the *actores* of the three estates. On the Antiochian estates the administration must have been very similar, yet the Tekmoreian documents are never dated by the priest or by officials of the Imperial service;* and this peculiarity long concealed the real character of the documents. The Tekmoreian *acta* emanate more directly and exclusively from the populace, and the Imperial officials do not appear. The intention was to show the spontaneous nature of the demonstrations; and the procurator and *actor* or *actores* took no direct part. Why, then, does the priest not appear? The answer seems to be given by the important inscription Call. I., the epitaph of Ti. Claudius Vicenio, evidently freedman and doubtless procurator of the Emperor Claudius, who was also priest of Artemis. May we suppose that the procurator was always priest, and thus combined the Imperial power and the old theocratic authority?

It is possible that the Antiochian estates were even more extensive than has been indicated. On the east, across the Sultan-Dagh, in Phrygia Paroreios, was a large set of Imperial estates (or a single great estate). Part or the whole was called Dipotamon or Mesanakta.† These estates extended from the Fountain of Midas on the north-west to Kolu-Kissa on the east, perhaps even further. It is quite possible that they may originally have been the Antiochian god's property, for they are continuous with the territory of Antioch, if (as is practically certain) the glades and *saltus* of the Sultan-Dagh

* A village deed is dated so, p. 309.

† See *Hist. Geogr.*, p. 140.

belonged to that city. On this view the Antiochian estates were immense, but Strabo lays stress on the extent of the god's property, and he has a few pages before been describing the property of the great Cappadocian and Pontic *hiera*, which were also of vast extent.

### III. DISCOVERY OF THE TEKMOREIAN MONUMENTS.

It is best to start from the long inscription of Gondane or Gondanni,* which, though not the earliest in chronological sequence, is the most important, as being complete and thus showing the character of the whole groups of texts better than any of the others, and furnishing the answer to many fundamental questions before we approach the other fragmentary documents. The Gondane stone, which will be quoted in the sequel as R. I., was the first in order of discovery. In 1882, travelling in company with the late Sir Charles W. Wilson, Consul-General in Anatolia, we found it one morning in a cemetery by the roadside about eleven or twelve miles west of Antioch. In the same cemetery stands a milestone, marked with the number XI, which, though not in its original position, has not been carried far. Sir Charles delayed the march for a day in order to give me time to copy it. The task was difficult, as the day was stormy, with frequent heavy showers of rain and very bad light. The inscription is very irregularly engraved, the lines are uneven, the spaces between the letters vary greatly, some letters are extremely faint (so that often it is difficult to determine whether the gap between two letters was a blank or contained some letter), yet considerable parts of the inscription are deeply engraved, and in a strong light† stand out as clearly as any inscription that I have ever seen. It added to the difficulty of the task that the time at my disposal was too short for a

* The exact form of the name is difficult. Many natives pronounce it like Kundanli, giving it more of a Turkish form. I believe it is the ancient ethnic Ganzaênos of R. I. The ancient name, Ganzaia or Koundoia, § x., showed the same variation of vowels as the modern.

† Sterrett notices the need of good light in this inscription.

text so long and difficult. In the second half I had to omit many of the personal names and devote my attention to the geographical names, as being more important.

I published the text with a commentary (which though now requiring modification in some points, took the right view in a good many respects) in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1883, p. 23 ff.

My friend Prof. Sterrett of Cornell University in 1885 copied R. I. with a number of other inscriptions of this group (all unfortunately mutilated); and published them in his *Wolfe Expedition*, 1888, pp. 226-273. Several inscriptions which he discovered are of the highest importance, and the text is repeated in § v. from my revision on the stones in 1886.

Prof. Sterrett added a large number of the personal names in the second half of R. I. (No. 366 in his book), and gave several geographical names rightly, which I had misapprehended; but he made one serious mistake, which blocked further progress in interpretation. The top of the inscription, with the statement of its purpose, is broken. In R. I. the parts were rightly put together side by side; but in St. 366 the smaller fragment is printed as if it came on the top of the other, and thus halves of the same lines are printed as two lines separated from one another by intermediate lines. This unfortunate mistake seriously impaired the value of St. 366, which would otherwise have been a great improvement on R. I. A large part of the text was recovered with complete certainty; but the restoration of the little that remained uncertain, or had to be left blank, has required much trouble and labour.

In 1886, travelling with my friend H. A. Brown (who afterwards died a soldier's death in Mashonaland, as one of the thirty-three with Major Allan Wilson), I reviewed a number of details in R. I. We went also to Saghir, where Prof. Sterrett had found several other inscriptions of the same class in 1885, and revised these (except No. 379, which I could not find) with Prof. Sterrett's copies of all except R. I. in my hand; and I sent him a list of all my additions

and corrections, to be used in his contemplated publication. My additions were St. 371 (now republished and completed, § v., and quoted as R. II.) and the small fragments St. 383, 384, which had escaped his notice. In his book, accordingly, he mentions in the heading of each inscription * that it was verified by me, giving the impression that I agreed in the text. This was not so : owing to a misapprehension which he explains in his Appendix, p. 428,† he rarely states in his text the corrections which I had made in comparing his copy with the stone, but he placed a partial list of my divergent readings in the Appendix to his book.

Again in 1905 we spent a night at Gondane, and discovered there the important inscription, now R. III., a companion to R. I., but mutilated of the upper half. There is great hope that the top of R. III. will yet be discovered, as the lower part escaped the notice of explorers for so many years. I have confidence that the missing part is in a house or a court-yard in the village. I took the opportunity of verifying some points in R. I., especially some in which Prof. Sterrett's publication of 1888 disagreed with my readings in 1886 ; but unfortunately I had no copy of the text with me.

In 1906 Prof. T. Callander went to Gondane and revised the text of R. I. in proof for the present edition, and made an impression of R. III. He also was unlucky in experiencing rainy weather, as I was in 1882 and 1886. Rain delayed his movements so much that he had only a few hours at Gondane and at Saghir ; but in the latter place he found two inscriptions which had escaped Prof. Sterrett and me. His work has been useful in many details.

* By a slip he omits in his text to say that I recopied his Nos. 369, 370, but he mentions this in his Appendix, p. 430.

† In the list of corrigenda which I sent to him, I put some in capitals (when the exact form of letter was needed to explain the change), but the great majority only in cursive script. The latter he took to be "nothing more than suggestions" of mine, unauthorised by the stones, and accordingly omitted them. In revising his proofs I observed the omission and asked the reason. Some fragments which seemed too small to be worth sending to him, are printed now as R. IV., R. V., R. IX.

## IV. THE INSCRIPTION OF GONDANE.

When we found the stone in 1882, it was broken in three fragments: (1) the top left-hand part, which was lost and has never been recovered: it contained only a few letters; (2) the top right-hand part, which I replaced to fit part (3) and so copied;* the letters are sometimes very faint; (3) the main mass of the stone, containing over 100 lines quite complete: even in (3) there are some difficulties, for ll. 10-13 are mutilated, the surface is worn or broken in parts, and in other parts the scribe has made positive blunders (some certainly so, some probably).

The beginning of the text, which is the most important part of all, is peculiarly difficult. Not merely is a fragment (1) of the stone lost; but some of the letters in fragment (2) are quite illegible. Thus the preamble, containing a statement of the purpose to which the contributions were devoted, and some description of the personality of the contributors, is seriously mutilated; but at last after many attempts it is now possible to give it complete.

The name Xenoi Tekmoreioi, by which the whole body of persons enumerated in this and the following lists were designated, was discovered by Prof. Sterrett, Nos. 369, 370, 372. He did not, however, recognise it in the heading of this list,† but regarded Tekmoreioi as a local epithet, derived from a place Tekmoreion, which he indicated on his map. In 1886 I found the name also in R. II., which I sent to Sterrett to be published as his No. 371.‡ The character of the lists still remained an enigma.

* Prof. Sterrett omitted to fit the fragments together in copying, and seriously misrepresents the connection between them in his text of 1886. Prof. Callander found only fragment (3), and this is now broken, so that l. 28 is the first complete line. So late as 1905 all lines from 14 onward were complete.

† In his No. 366, equivalent to R. I., he read *-ρειον* in l. 2, and thus missed the restoration *[τεκμο]ρεῖοι*, which follows at once from the true reading.

‡ I did not send him R. V., copied in 1886, as the text was uncertain in part and I hoped some time to be able to restore it. It contains the name Xenoi Tekmoreioi.

In my *Histor. Geogr.*, p. 410, I republished the preamble of R. I., restoring [Ξένοι Τεκμο]ρεῖοι * and making other additions; but there still remained a considerable gap, mostly due to the fact that the nature of the lists and the character of the Xenoi were still undetermined. That τεκμορεῖοι was not a topographical epithet I felt certain; but its meaning was obscure. I advanced the conjecture that the Tekmoreioi were the Xenoi who used the sign (τέκμωρ), adding "the poetic term τέκμωρ is not unnatural in the artificial Greek of Pisidia". In *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, i., p. 97, ii., pp. 359, 630, it is proved that Brotherhoods were a remarkable feature of Anatolian society both in ancient and mediæval times, and the Tekmoreioi are quoted as an example of the class. This explanation was rejected (apparently reluctantly) by Dr. Ziebarth, *Griech. Vereinwesen*, p. 67, who recurred to Sterrett's idea of a local reference in Tekmoreioi, on the ground that the revival of the long defunct poetic word *τέκμωρ erscheint kaum glaublich* (an objection which shows insufficient consideration of the character of the Phrygian Greek and Greek-speakers); and Dr. Judeich in *Alterthümer von Hierapolis* (Humann, etc., 1898), p. 120, agreed with him. But new discovery has confirmed my view, and enables me now to explain and restore the inscriptions much more completely: my interpretation is no longer a theory, but a fact of Phrygian history and religion, as the sequel will prove.

The stone is a column, eleven and a half feet high, oval in section with raised flat surface in the middle of the broad sides, similar in shape to the columns in the middle of Byzantine church windows. The writing, which begins at the very top and covers ten and a half feet of one of the broad sides, extends across the raised flat surface, and it is sometimes difficult to judge whether a letter was cut on the raised edge. The raised edges are marked by lines in the facsimile.

* The word is accented by its relation to the newly discovered verb τεκμορεύω (see below): formerly I accented on the supposition that the word was a mere variation of spelling for τεκμόριοι.

As the copies are mostly independent of one another (only Callander having with him any earlier copy), more careful statement of readings is needed in this than in the other documents, in most of which I compared Sterrett's copy with the stone.

For the printer's convenience the ordinary symbol for denarii is represented by *.

2. Quoted as R. I. (R. 1882, reviewed 1886, 1905 ; St. 1885 ; Callander 1906).

ὑπὲρ τῆς Κυρί]ου Σε[β.] τύχης, μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις,
Ξένοι Τεκμο]ρεῖοι ἐποίησαν φιάλην
καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου? ἀνδ]ρ(ε)ιάντα καὶ χάλκωμα καὶ πάτελλ[αν
Οἱ τεκμορεύσαντες? ἐν τ]ῷ Διπύ- 5 καὶ λιβανωτρίδα
6 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
λῳ? ἐπὶ ἀναγραφ]έως Αὐρ. ἀναλωμάτων

Δημητρίου Ὀνη]σίμου

1-23. See facsimile, which is not exact, being too regular in form and order.

1. So R., 1886 : only OYC and IC ME Γ, etc., R., 1882, and St. The restoration ἔτ]ους ϵ[σ], given in *Histor. Geogr.*, p. 410, cannot be right, for the era used in that district must be B.C. 25. Moreover, more than two letters seem to be lacking at the beginning. The restoration here given is guaranteed by the exordia in many other Tekmoreian documents. In 1886 R. noted that the fifth letter might be C or P : cp. *C.I.L.*, iii., 6974, l. 5, where in a similar almost obliterated text he read C or S or B : B is right, and the word is the same in both cases. With abbreviated Σεβ (like Aug.) compare an inscription published in *Class. Review*, 1905, p. 369.

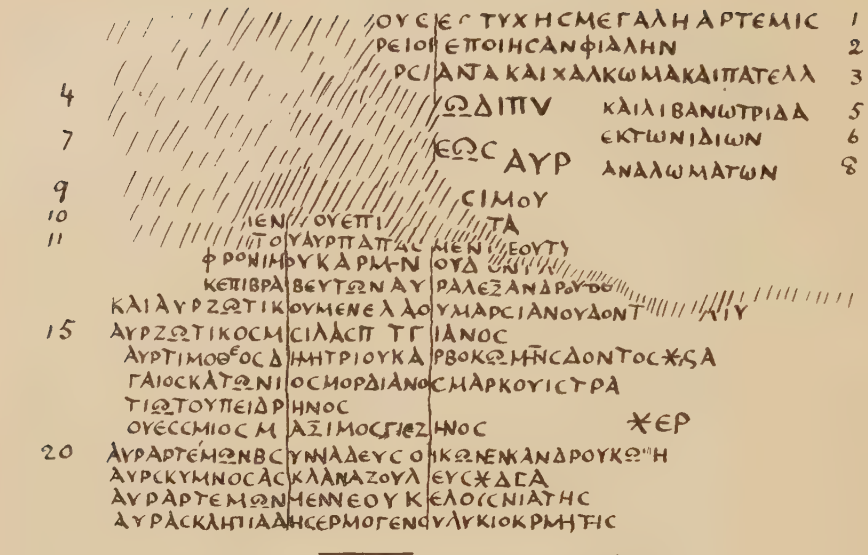
2. IOI R., 1882, reading -ρεῖο(ν) in transcription, and adding note "first half of N alone remains" : ION St. : IOI R., 1886.

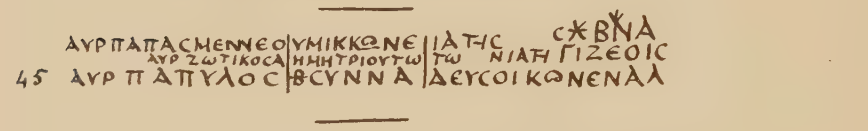
3 So R., 1886 : PC / [·]NTA R., 1882 (indicating gap of one letter before N, and NT *liée*) : PE NNΓA St. In *J.H.S.*, 1883, p. 25, the transcription χαλκώματα is printed by a slip ; the copy in my note-book is correct (so R., 1886, and St.). St. reads ΛΛΑΝ at end of line, doubtless correctly : ΛΛ only, R., 1882 and 1886 (transcribing -λλ[ας).

4 and 5. So R., 1882 and 1886 : St. gives them as one continuous line, and has ΑΙΙΑΝ for ΛΙΒΑΝ. Restoration, pp. 346, 349.

7 and 8. So R., 1882 and 1886 : St. gives as one continuous line.

9 and 10. So R., 1886 (two half letters omitted in 1882) : St. gives these as four lines, not observing how the two parts of the stone fit on to one another.


ΟΥC ΕΡΤΥΧΗCΜΕΓΑΛΗΑΡΤΕΜΙC 1
ΡΕΙΟΙ ΕΠΟΙΗCΑΝΦΙΑΛΗΝ 2
ΡCΙ ΑΝΤΑΚΑΙΧΑΛΚΩΜΑΚΑΙΠΑΤΕΛΛ 3
4 ΩΔΙΠΥ ΚΑΙΛΙΒΑΝΩΤΡΙΔΑ 5
7 ΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝ 6
ΕΩC ΑΥΡ ΑΝΑΛΩΜΑΤΩΝ 8
9 CΙΜΟΥ
10 ΟΥΕΠΙ ΤΑ
11 ΥΑΥΡΠΑΠΑC ΜΕΝ ΕΟΥΤΗ
ΦΡΟΝΙΗ ΦΥΚΑΡΜΑΝ ΟΥΔ
ΚΕΠΙΒΡΑ ΒΕΥΤΩΝΑΥ ΡΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΚΑΙΑΥΡΖΩΤΙΚ ΟΥΜΕΝΕΛΑΟ ΥΜΑΡCΙΑΝΟΥΔΟΝΤ ΛΙΥ
15 ΑΥΡΖΩΤΙΚΟCΜ CΙΛΛCΠ ΤΓ ΙΑΝΟC
ΑΥΡΤΙΜΟΘΕΟCΔ ΗΗΤΡΙΟΥΚΑ ΡΒΟΚΩΗΝCΔΟΝΤΟC✻CA
ΓΑΙΟCΚΑΤΩΝΙ ΟCΜΟΡΔΙΑΝΟ CΜΑΡΚΟΥΙCΤΡΑ
ΤΙΩΤΟΥΠΕΙΔΡ ΗΝΟC
ΟΥΕCCΜΙΟC Μ ΑΣΙΜΟCΓΙΕΖ ΗΝΟC ✻ΕΡ
20 ΑΥΡΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΒC ΥΝΝΑΔΕΥC Ο ΗΚΩΝΕΝΚΑΝΔΡΟΥΚΩΝΗ
ΑΥΡCΚΥΜΝΟCΑC ΚΛΑΝΑΖΟΥΛ ΕΥC✻ΔCΑ
ΑΥΡΑΡΤΕΜΩΝ ΗΕΝΝΕΟΥ Κ ΕΛΟΓCΝΙΑΤΗC
ΑΥΡΑCΚΛΗΠΙΑΔ ΗCΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟ ΥΛΥΚΙΟΚΡΗΤΙC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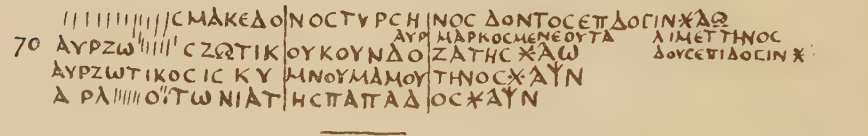
ΑΥΡΖΩΤΙΚΟCΑ ΗΗΗΤΡΙΟΥΤΩ ΤΩ ΝΙΑΤΗ ΓΙΖΕΟΙC
45 ΑΥΡΠΑΠΥΛΟC ΒCΥΝΝΑ ΔΕΥCΟΙΚΩΝΕΝΑΛ

57 ΑΥΡΑΡΤΕΜΩ ΒΑΜΑΗΝ C ΔΟΝΤΟC✻ΒΤΑ
ΑΥΡΑΛΕΣΑΝ CΑΠΠΑ ΠΑ✻ΔΙΑΝΟC✻ΒΤΑ


CΜΑΚΕΔΟ ΝΟCΤΥΡCΗ ΝΟC ΔΟΝΤΟCΕΠΔΟCΙΝ✻ΔΩ
ΑΥΡ ΑΥΡ ΜΑΡΚΟCΜΕΝΕΟΥΤΑ ΛΙΜΕΤΤΗΝΟC
70 ΑΥΡΖΩ CΖΩΤΙΚ ΟΥΚΟΥΝΔΟ ΖΑΤΗC✻ΑΨΩ ΔΟΥCΕΠΙΔΟCΙΝ✻
ΑΥΡΖΩΤΙΚΟCΙC ΚΥ ΜΝΟΥΜΑΜΟΥ ΤΗΝΟC✻ΑΨΝ
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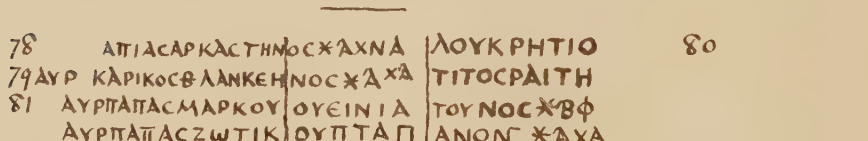
78 ΑΠΙΑCΑΡΚΑCΤΗΝ ΟC✻ΑΧΝΑ ΛΟΥΚΡΗΤΙΟ 80
79 ΑΥΡ ΚΑΡΙΚΟCΒΛΑΝΚΕΗ ΝΟC✻Α✻Α ΤΙΤΟCΡΑΙΤΗ
81 ΑΥΡΠΑΠΑCΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΟΥΕΙΝΙΑ ΤΟΥΝΟC✻Βφ
ΑΥΡΠΑΠΑCΖΩΤΙΚ ΟΥΠΤΑΠ ΑΝΟΝC ✻ΑΧΑ

Κτιμ]εν[ην]οῦ ἐπί[δοσιν *,δ?]τα´
κὲ ἐπὶ μισθω?]τοῦ Αὐρ. Παπᾶς Μεννέου τ(ο)ῦ [καὶ
Φρονίμου Καρμηνοῦ δόντ. *[- - -
κ(ὲ) ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν Αὐρ. Ἀλεξάνδρου β´ Θ[υρσηνοῦ
καὶ Αὐρ. Ζωτικοῦ Μενελάου Μαρσιανοῦ δόντ[ος *],γύ
Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Μ(ε)ίλας (?) Πτ[α]γιανός
Αὐρ. Τιμόθεος Δημητρίου Καρβοκωμήτης δόντος *,σα´
Γ[άϊ]ος Κατώνιος Μορδιανὸς Μάρκου ἰστρα-
τιώτου Πειδρηνός
Οὐέσσμιος Μάξιμος Γισζηνὸς *,ερ´
Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων β´ Συνναδεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν Κανδρουκώ[μ]ῃ
Αὐρ. Σκύμνος Ἀσκλᾶ Ναζουλεὺς *,δσά´
Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων Μεννέου Κελο(υε)νιάτης
Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἑρμογένου Λυκιοκ(ω)μήτης
Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδης Τειμοθέου Ψερκιοκωμήτης
Αὐρ. Γάϊος Ῥωμύλου Γαρδιβιανός
Λουκρήτιος Κόϊντος Κυίντου Ὀλυμποκωμήτης *,δα´
Αὐρ. Κορνήλιος Ἰσ[κ]ύμνου Ναζουλεὺς *,γω´
Αὐρ. Καρικὸς Ἀντί[κ]λεος Ἐζαρεὺς
Λουκρήτιος Λούκιος Πειδρηνὸς Λουκίου υἱὸς *,γψα´

15. R., 1882, and St. both suppose engraver's error for Μείδας. There is some fault of engraving: perhaps read M[. .]σιλας, or omit M as engraver's error and read Σίλας: perhaps correct to M[ε]ιλας. All copies agree exactly, except that St. has no gap between Π and Τ in the ethnic. *Cf.* R. VIII. 2.

16. So R.: MHTHC St.

19. St. places the number in this line: R. places it midway opposite 18 and 19, with note that it seems intended to apply to both.

22. St. and Callander read C C N. R., 1882, puts gap for first C, and supposes erasure of letter: R., 1905, thought the letter was Y, injured by flaw in the stone. The ethnic occurs in R. III. 25 as Κελυνιάτης.

28. Impossible to judge if there is a letter lost between NTI and Λ; there is plenty of room, but the edge of the raised part of stone is broken: so Callander, who suggests K. The copies of R. and of St. suggest that a letter is wanting.

29. ΓΨΑ St., R., 1905, Callander: ΓΥΑ R., 1882 (corrected to Ψ in transcription).

Α[ὐ]ρ. Μακεδὼν Ἀθηνέου Ἀσκαρηνὸς *,γχα´
Αὐρ. Γάϊος Βορᾶς Ὀλυνποκωμήτης *,γχ´
Αὐρ. Ποσιδώνιος Ἀρτέμωνος Κινναβορη(ν)ὸς *,γχα´
Αὐρ. Καρικὸς Ἀπ(π)ᾶδος Κινναβοριάτης *,γφα´
Αὐρ. Λούκιος Καρικοῦ Νειδηνὸς *,γφα´
Αὐρ. Διοπάνης Παπᾶ Τελεσφόρου Πταγιανός
Αὐρ. Μάμα Ἴμενος Μονοκληρείτης
Αὐρ. Μεννέας Ζωτικο(ῦ) Προυρειστρε(ὺ)ς *,γρ´
Αὐρ. Ἴμαν Ζωτικοῦ Σοφοῦ Δα(β)ην(ε)ὺς *,γρα´
Αὐρ. Τειμότεος Ἄττας Κοΐντου Τυτηνὸς *,γρα´
Αὐρ. Διοφάνης Ἴμενος Πταγιανὸς *,γα´
Αὐρ. Καρικὸς Ἑρμογένου Ταταεὺς *,βων´
Αὐρ. Γάϊος β´ Πύῤῥου Μικκωνειάτης *,βωνα´
Αὐρ. Παπᾶς Μεννέου Μικκωνειάτης
Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Δημητρίου Τωτωνιάτης
Αὐρ. Παπύλος β´ Συνναδεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν Ἀλγιζέοις *,βψνα´
Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἑκατησίου Κινναβοριάτης
Αὐρ. Καρικὸς Ἀλεξάν[δρ]ου Γανζαηνὸς *,βψα´
Μάρκος Σεπτού[μι]ος β´ [Κολ?]ωνιανέτης *,βφα´
Αὐρ. Ἀλέξαν[δρ]ος Κα[ρικοῦ] οἰκῶν ἐν Νείδῳ *,βφα´

32. (*ν*), *υ* all. Number omitted by R., 1882: added St., R., 1905, Callander.

33. Only I for second Π. Perhaps read Ἀπιᾶδος.

34. IOC R., 1882: NO *liée* R., 1886: NO St.

37. N and I for Y and Y, all.

38. PHNOYC R., 1882, 1886, 1905, with note in every case that B is perhaps to be read (fracture makes the letter doubtful). Callander notes "B quite likely". St. gives PHNOC *-ρηνὸς*.

42. R., 1882, omits final A in number: added St., R., 1886, Callander.

43-45. Given in facsimile according to R., 1882 (in the transcription the arrangement was misunderstood) and 1886. St. interprets rightly, except that the number clearly belongs to 45 (on account of the lettering), and not to 44 (as he gives it).

48. R., 1882, 1886, and St. agree in every detail: the ethnic begins probably with C or Є or Θ or O or K, and there is space for three or four letters: perhaps a confusion between K[ολ]*ωνιανός* and K[ολ]*ωνιάτης*, citizen of the Colonia Antioch.

Αὐρ. Λούκι[ος] Μ[εννι]έου [Τ]ρουγλεττεύς
Αὐρ. Αρτέμων [Ἀττ]άλου Ἀνπελαδηνὸς *βυα′
Αὐρ. (Μ)άξιμος Γ[αΐ]ου Καρσενδηνὸς *βυα′
Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς β′ Ἴμ[ε]νος Ὀεινιάτ[η]ς *βυα′
Αὐρ. Πύρμος Παπίου Ἀρχελα[ε]ὺς *βτα′
Αὐρ. Ἑρμῆς β′ Ἰμάηνος *βτα′
Σευῆρος Καρ[ικ]οῦ Ἀνπελ[α]δηνὸς *βτα′
Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμω[ν] β′ Ἀμάην[ος] δόντος *βτα′
Αὐρ. Ἀλέξαν[δρο]ς Ἀππᾶ Π[α]διανὸς *βσα′
Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς [Μεν]νέου Κνουτεινεὺς *βσα′
Αὐρ. Σούριος Μ[ηνο]φίλου Ἀσκαρηνὸς *βσα′
Αὐρ. Καρικὸ(ς) [Ζ]ωτικοῦ Ὀεινιάτης *βσα′
Αὐρ. Ἀρτεμίδωρος β′ Λανκηνὸς δόντος *βρα′
Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων Ἀσκληπιάδου Κνουτεινεὺς *βρα′
Αὐρ. [Πύ?]ρμος Ἀπᾶς Μαρσιανὸς *βα′
Αὐρ. Καρικὸς Με(ν)νέου Μην[οδ]ώρου Τευιτηνὸς *βα′
Αὐρ. Μεννέας Παπᾶ Ἀρτ[εμω]νος Κερασιανὸς *α′
Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδ(ρ)ος Ἀσκληπιάδου Τυρσηνὸς *αων′

50. St. reads TP, doubtless correctly: R. could read only IP in 1882, 1886, 1905, so Callander.

52. C EN St., R., 1905, Callander: C EIH R., 1882 (marking H uncertain).

53. R., 1882 and St. have right copy, false transcription.

54. From this line to 101, R. omitted many of the personal names owing to pressure of time and bad weather in 1882. It is needless to give details. The missing personal names are supplied by St. and verified in part by Callander.

54. St., right in copy, transcribes [Σ]ύρμος. Lat. *Firmus*, cp. l. 35.

56. St. right: R., right in copy, indicates gap (where Αὐρ. might be) in transcription.

57. R., 1905, as in facsimile, MA *liée* the second letter: R., 1882, 1886, St., Callander AIAH.

58. R., St., right in copy, wrongly transcribe Π [εισ]διανός.

59. So St., R., 1905: BTA R., 1882.

65. KANAKC St.: R. conjectured first KAPIKOC, then KΛΑΥΔΙΟC as nearer St.'s copy: Callander reads KAPIKOC: HN R., 1882: HN St. (engraver's error).

67. PC all: (ρ) in R., 1882, transcription is a slip.

Αὐρ. Γάϊο]ς Μακεδόνος Τυρσηνὸς δόντος ἐπίδοσιν *,αω΄
Αὐρ. Μάρκος Μενέου Ταλιμεττηνὸς δοὺς ἐπίδοσιν *
70 Αὐρ. Ζω[τικὸ]ς Ζωτικοῦ Κουνδοζάτης *,αω΄
Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Ἰσκύμνου Μαμουτηνὸς *,αψν΄
Α[ὐ]ρ. Λ[ίρ ?] Οἰτωνιάτ[η]ς Παπᾶδος *,αψν΄
Αὐρ. Μάριος Μνηστέου Μαμουτηνὸς *,αψν΄
Αὐρ[ήλι]ος Αὐξάνοντος Ἀνπελαδηνὸς *,αψν΄
75 Αὐρ. Παπ]ίας Ἀλεξάνδρου Γιζηνὸς *,αψα΄
Αὐρ. Καρ]ικὸς Μεννέου Μαμο(υ)τηνὸς *,αψα΄
Αὐρ. Ζ]ωτικὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου Τιτηνὸς *,αψα΄
Αὐρ. Π]απίας Ἀρκαστηνὸς *,αχνα΄ 80 Λουκρήτιο[ς]
79 Αὐρ. Καρικὸς β΄ Λανκεηνὸς *,αχα΄ Τίτος Ῥαιτη-
81 Αὐρ. Παπᾶς Μάρκου Οὐεινιάτου νὸς *,βφ΄
Αὐρ. Παπᾶς Ζωτικοῦ Πταγιανὸ(ν)ς *,αχα΄
Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων Δημητρίου Τενιανὸς *,αφνα΄

68. ΠΔΟΓΙΝ R., 1882 : ΠΔΟΕΙΝ R., 1886 : ΠΑΟϹ NN St. Callander recognised I and Δ *liée*.

68-72. See facsimile.

69. Later insertion between 68 and 70 (so indicated by R., not by St.) : Λω R., 1882, St. : ΛΙΜ R., 1886, Callander. Gap between TA and Λ R., 1882, 1886, Callander.

70. So St., R., 1886, Callander : ΙΗϹ R., 1882.

72. See facsimile according to R., 1905. Callander accepts, and St. agrees exactly, so far as can be gathered from a printed text (R., 1882, omits the first three letters). There is certainly here an engraver's error, he puts the father's name after the ethnic. If he has not also omitted some letters of the ethnic, the restoration is as given (*cf.* l. 119) ; if an omission is supposed, read [Τω]τωνιάτης. There seems hardly room for Λ[ιρ Τ]ο(υ)τωνιάτης, which I long inclined to. On the Pisidian name Lir, see R. in *Revue des Univ. du Midi*, 1895, p. 357 ; Miss Ramsay in *Journ. Hell. Soc.*, 1904, p. 286.

73. So R., 1882, 1905, Callander : ΜЄ NH St.

76. OTT R., 1882, Callander : OYTT St. Error of scribe for OYT ; but T and Y sometimes are difficult to distinguish.

78-82. See facsimile.

80. St. prints this line as 80 in regular order with the others. It is deeply and strongly engraved : no Ϲ at the end of Λουκρήτιο was ever engraved.

Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Ἴμενος Δημητρίου Τυιτηνὸς ,αφνα΄
Αὐρήλιος Διοφάνης Μαξίμου Ταλιμετεὺ[ς] *,αφνα΄
Αὐρ. Οὐαμελιανὸς Κοΐντου Ταλιμετεὺς *,αφ[ν]α΄
Αὐρ. Καρικὸς Ζωτικοῦ Κακοζηνὸς *[,αφ]λα΄
Αὐρ. Ἴμαν Συντρόφου Κρανοσαγνὸς δόντος ἐπίδοσιν *,αφα΄
Αὐρ. Αὐξάνων Ἀμίου Κρανοσαγηνὸς δόντος *,αφα΄
Αὐρ. Λούκιος [Μεν]άνδρου Ὠ[ει]νιατης
Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Ταλειμετηνὸς δό(ν)τος ἐπίδοσιν *,αφα΄
Αὐρ. Ἄρζανος Ζωτικοῦ Ο[ὐ]ειναίτης *,αυνα΄
Αὐρ. Παπᾶς Ζωτικοῦ Ὀεινιάτης *,αυνα΄
Αὐρ. Μενέας Ἀσκληπιοῦ Ὀεινιάτης *,ατπα΄
Αὐρ. Μεννέας Ζωτικοῦ Μαραλιτηνὸς *,ατκε΄
Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος Καρικοῦ Ἀμπελαδηνὸς *,ατκε΄
Αὐρ. Μεννέας Ἀππᾶδος Κερασιανὸς
Αὐρ. Λούκ[ιο]ς Ζωτικοῦ Μ[ι]συλιάτης
Αὐρ. Κόϊντος Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀνπελαδηνὸς *,ασνα΄
Αὐρ. Παπᾶς Διοπάνους Π(τ)αγιανὸς
Αὐρ. Ἀππᾶς Ζωτικοῦ Κνουτεινεὺς
Αὐρ. Παπίας Μένωνος Πε[ι]σδηνὸς *,ασα΄
Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀππᾶ Θυρσηνὸς *,ασα΄
Αὐρ. Ἀππᾶς Ζωτικοῦ Λαπειστρεύς *,ara΄

85. Φ St.: Δ R., 1882. ΥЄ Y R., 1882 (corrected in transcription): ΤЄ Y St., R., 1886, 1905, Callander. Y and T sometimes approximate in form on this stone, see l. 76.

86. ΤЄ all. Not Οὐα(λέριος). I noted Pisidian love of vowels in *Mitth. Ath.*, 1883, p. 74, *Rev. d. Et. Anc.*, 1895, p. 355, *e.g.* Ἠουήιος, Οὐοούας.

89. . . . Y R, 1882: AMOY St. Callander has I after M, and OC for OY.

91. . . ΜЄ T R., 1882: . . ΛΙЄ ΤΜЄ T St. (so in transcription): ΤΑΛΙΜЄ T R., 1886: . . ΠЄ ΙΜЄ T Callander; perhaps the true text is Ταλειμετηνός.

98. MAC Y R., 1882 (A marked very doubtful): M . . Y St.: M . C Y R., 1886: MIC Y (I doubtful) Callander. Μισυλιάτης G. Hirschfeld, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1886, p. 591 (by comparison with St., *Wolfe Exp.*, No. 548), a brilliant and undoubtedly correct emendation.

100. ΠΑΝ and ΠΡΑΓ, all copies.

102. ЄIC Δ St.: Є C Δ R., Callander. 103. Συρσηνὸς St.

Αὐρ. Μάξιμος Ζωτικοῦ Ὠειν(ι)άτης *,αρα΄
Αὐρ. Μενέας Λουκίου Πεσ[κ]ε[ ]νιάτης *,αα΄
Αὐρ. Μένανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀνπελαδηνὸς
Αὐρ. Ὀνήσιμος Ἡλίου Μεργνιάτης *,αα΄
Αὐρ. Μενέδημος Ἀλεκᾶς Κτιμενηνὸς *,φκε΄
Αὐρ. Διογένης Μεννέου Στρουμ[η]νὸς *,ωα΄
Αὐρ. Χαρίδημος Γιλίωνος Ἀμπελ[αδηνὸς
Αὐρ. Ἄτταλος Μενάνδρου Ἀμπελαδ[ηνός *φα΄
Αὐρ. Καρικὸς β΄ Χθιμενηνός
Αὐρ. Κούειντος Αὐξάνοντος Οὐεινιάτης *,ων΄
Αὐρ. Ἰσκύμνος Μάμας Χθιμ[εν]ηνὸς *,ωνα΄
Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Μενέου Πεσκενιάτης
Αὐρ. Μενέας Ἀππᾶδος Πολυμαργηνός
Αὐρ. Ξένων Βουβάλου Πεισδιανός
Αὐρ. Δάμας β΄ Οἰτινιάθης *,ωα΄
Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Ἑρμῆδος Εἰρευμενιάτης *,ακε΄

105. IAT R., 1882, Callander: TAT St. doubtfully.

106. CЄMN R., 1882: CЄ[ ]N (with note that M has been cut out, leaving a gap) R., 1886: CЄNN St.: rectangular hole with traces of N Callander. The engraver corrected one blunder, but forgot to insert K after C.

110. ωNOC R., 1882: MNOC for M-NOC R., 1886: MNOC St.: Callander says that fracture conceals the space, leaving a doubt whether the cross-stroke between M and H was engraved or not. ωA R., 1882: ωPA St. (transcribing ωρά without remark).

116. THC R., 1886, Callander: NIC (N marked very uncertain) R., 1882: ΉHC St.

118. St. omits N at end of Ξένων by a slip in epigraphic text.

119. B with cross-stroke (for δίς) St., R., 1886, Callander: B R., 1882.

The stone was engraved on a uniform plan, and therefore on one occasion, not in different years. This is proved: (1) by the dating in a definite year, by the names of the three different kinds of officials, and (2) by the arrangement of the contributors in the order of the amounts which they contributed. Apart from the officials

and the first and last on the list, ll. 15, 120, they give sums varying from 6001 denarii to 901 : the first on the list has no number attached to his name (this is certain), while the last gives 1025. The contributors in ll. 44, 69, were added as an afterthought in smaller letters between two lines of the inscription as first engraved ; and l. 80 was added in three short lines at the side of ll. 78-81.*

The arrangement according to the amount of contribution is violated in some cases ; but in one case, l. 69, the violation given by St. is due to disputed reading, and disappears in the text given here according to my copy.† There remain a few cases (1) at the end, where perhaps the scribe confused between $\phi$ and $\omega$ : (2) where $\alpha$ at the end is omitted, probably by error of scribe or copyist (*e.g.* ll. 41, 42) : (3) in l. 80, which is inserted out of order, evidently because ll. 78-81 were very short and left a convenient space at the right hand. But the exceptions are rare and are obviously exceptions to a clearly marked rule of order, implying arrangement according to a plan. In this respect the Tekmoreian inscriptions differ from the Ormelian, most of which clearly were engraved from time to time, as new entries were needed, and are not arranged on any plan of order.

But, while the inscription was engraved on one occasion and on one plan throughout, the writing changes several times in a marked manner. The inserted l. 89 is written in a totally different style and in such a careless way that $\iota\mu$ was misread $\omega$ by St. and by myself at first. In several places it is clear that either the scribe was changed, or that he rested and began afresh with new vigour ; but these changes cannot be explained as due to the enrolling of addi-

* Prof. Sterrett in his epigraphic text disregards these peculiarities of arrangement, and prints these lines as if each occupied one space uniformly with the other lines. He carefully mentions the peculiar arrangement of l. 45, where the last few letters are written above at the end of the inserted l. 44 ; but otherwise merely refers to my published description of the arrangement of lines.

† Confirmed by Callander.

tions on various occasions to a standing list. The reasons just stated show that the entire list was compiled on one single occasion, though it may have taken the engraver some time and several spells of work to complete his task. Presumably, the list was written first on some more perishable material, and afterwards copied on stone to be publicly exhibited. A similar case occurs in the list of the Gerousia at Sebaste in Phrygia (*Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, ii., p. 602, No. 475). In that case a list of seventy-one names shows several fresh starts and changes of writing. M. Paris* argued from this that the list included the names of those who were enrolled in the Gerousia during a series of years, whereas I have argued from the date at the top (equivalent to A.D. 98-9) and from the aorist participle in the heading (οἱ ἰσελθόντες εἰς τὴν γερουσίαν) that the Gerousia of Sebaste was first incorporated in that year, and that seventy-one persons were then enrolled in it, thus marking an important stage in the development of Græco-Roman municipal institutions in this Phrygian city.

That the inscription was engraved slowly during a certain lapse of time is proved, further, by these reasons :—

(1) In a village, where the stonecutter was evidently not very skilful, such a long document probably required a good many days to engrave.

(2) Besides the original heading—"The following are they that showed the Tekmor in the year when "—a second heading was added above and at the right-hand side of the first, stating that the money was applied to the purchase of certain religious objects. Presumably the main inscription was engraved before this purpose was determined, and the statement of the purpose was added later.

The list was drawn up in its present order after various contributors added to their original contribution, for presumably such entries as ll. 68, 88, 91, give the total sum contributed by these persons in their two donations, and these appear in their proper order of amount.

* See *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1883, p. 455.

## V. OTHER TEKMOREIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

3. Quoted as R. II. (R. 1886 : communicated to Sterrett for publication as No. 371.)

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ (2) [ὑπὲρ τῆς] τοῦ ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος τύχης καὶ νείκης καὶ ἐωνίου διαμονῆς καὶ σύν- (3) [παντος τοῦ οἴ]κου σωτηρίας ἐποίησαν Ξένοι Τεκμόρειοι ἔφιππον Ἥλιον σὺν τῷ (4) [κόσμῳ κὲ κα]τασκευῇ πάσῃ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων

Six lines illegible.

. . . Μ]αρσιανός
[Μενν]έου? Μαρσιανός
-νὸς Τριγλεττηνός.

4. Quoted as R. III. At Gondane on column of same shape as R. I. (R. 1905 : impression, Callander 1906 : published in *Classical Review*, 1905, p. 419.)

ἐπὶ βραβ]ευ[τῶν . . . . . .
Συννα]δέως οἰκ[οῦντος ἐν . . . . .
καὶ Μάρκου? Ὀ]πτάτου Ἴμενος Μικ[κ]ω[νιάτου
Αὐρ. Ἀσκ]ληπιάδης Ἀλεξάνδρου [Θ]υρση[νός
Αὐρ. Θε]όδωρος β΄ Συνναδεὺς οἰκῶν
ἐν Ἀ]λγιζίοι[ς] δόντος (δηνάρια) ψοέ
Αὐρ.] Λούκιος Γαίου Σαγουηνός (δην.) ψνα΄
Αὐρ.—]ς Ἑρμοξένου Ὀλιμαν[α]ρεύς (δην.) ψνα΄
Αὐρ.—]ς Ἀππᾶ Συνναδεὺς ο[ἰ]κῶν
ἐ]ν Ἐσαβο[υ]ρείαις δόντος (δην.) ψνα΄
Αὐρ. Ἴμαν] Μεννέου Πεσκενιάτης (δην.) χμα΄
Αὐρ. Δι?]όφαντος Μανίου εἱερεὺς Διὸς
Εὐρυδ]αμηνοῦ [?]Ῥοκκηνός (δην.) χκέ
Αὐρ. Κλαύ?]διος Μαξίμου Ἐζαρεύς (δην.) χκέ΄

2. οἰκ confirmed by impression.
3. *Cf.* St. 376, 46. So impression ; Ο(ἰκ) R. in copy.
10. CICAB also possible : OIT or OT all possible.

Αὐρ. Δι]οκλῆς Ἄνδρωνος Ὀλμιανός (δην.) χκέ
Αὐρ. Καρικ?]ὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου Συνναδεὺς
οἰκῶν] ἐν Ἀστιβίᾳ δόντος (δην.) χκέ
Αὐρ. Μηνόφ?]ιλος Εὔνοτος Τωτωνιάτης (δην.) φνα΄
Αὐρ.—]ς Δημητρίου Μαρσιανός (δην.) φνα΄
Αὐρ.—]ς Οὐάρου Κονδουζιάτης (δην.) φλέ
Αὐρ. Μεννέας Παπᾶ Σεπτουμανεύς (δην.) φλέ
Αὐρ. Ἀρτέ?]μων Ὀνησίμου Καρβο[κ]ωμήτης (δην.) φλα΄
Αὐρ. Οὐά?]λης Μεννέου Μανδρηνός (δην.) φλα΄
Αὐρ. Ζωτ]ικὸς Μεννέου Πεσκενιάτης (δην.) φλα΄
Αὐρ. Ἀρτέ]μων Αὐξάνοντος Κελυνιάτης (δην.) φκέ
Αὐρ. Πρί?]σκος Μακε[δόν]ος Λαμισηνός (δην.) φιέ
Αὐρ. Ἀσκλη]πιάδης β΄ [Αλγ?]ιζε[ύ]ς (δην.) φιέ
Αὐρ. —]νδρος Ζω[σᾶδος] Ἀνδιηνός (δην.) υοέ
Αὐρ. Ἑρμῆ?]ς Ἴμενος Τ[ατα]ην[ό]ς (δην.) υλά
Αὐρ. —]ς β΄ Πταγ[ιανός] (δην.) υγ΄ τνα΄
Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Ἀπολλ[ωνί]ου β΄ Γορδι[ουκ]ώμης (δην.)
Αὐρ. Ἀλεκκᾶς Μενεδήμο[υ] Κτ[ι]μενηνός (δην.) τνα΄
Αὐρ. Γάϊος Μενάνδρ[ου Πε]σκενιάτης (δην.) τκέ
Αὐρ. Λούκιος Λουκίου Γιζηνὸς τεκμορεύσας δίς (δην.) τα΄
Αὐρ. Καρικὸς Μάρκου Πατεηνός (δην.) σπ΄
Αὐρ. Τειμόθεος Δη[μη]τρίου Μαρσιανός (δην.) τ(ο΄)
Αὐρ. Ἀππᾶς Παπίου Ῥιμενιαντηνός χαλκία δύο
Αὐρ. Μήναττος Κερασιανός (δην.) υν΄
Αὐρ. Ἀππᾶς Ὀρέστου Κτιμενηνός (δην.) υν΄
Αὐρ. Δημήτριος Ὀνησίμου Κτιμενηνός (δην.) υν΄
Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Πλάτωνος Κεναβοριά-
Αὐρ. Ἀρε[σ]τοκλῆς της (δην.) υα΄
Ἀρισ]τόδημος Καυδριανοῦ

29. Ethnic read from impression.

37. Two bronze vessels (St. 379, 3 : *cf.* 370, 9, R. I. 3).

43. So R. copy and Call. impression : first name omitted in *Class. Rev.* by slip. Perhaps error of engraver for -ήμου Καυδριανός.

5. Quoted as R. IV. At Saghir: ancient Sagoue. (R. 1886: published in *Classical Review*, 1905, p. 420.)*

[ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν
καὶ Αὐρ.]
Ζωτικο[ῦ Κωκούτα Συνναδέως
οἰκοῦντο[ς ἐν Ἑρμοκώμῃ
Τίτος Φλαο[ύιος Ἀσκληπιάδης Συνναδεὺς οἰκῶν
ἐν Δαουκ[ώμῃ (δην.) Αὐρ. Μεννε?-
ας Σωτράτο[υ
Αὐρήλιος Ἀρτ[εμ Μη-
τροπολείτο[υ
Αὐρ. Ἀππᾶς β΄ [Κτιμενηνός
Αὐρ. Σωκράτης [Σωκράτους Κουσεα-
νὸς ὁ καὶ Συνναδ[εύς (δην.) —. Αὐρ. —
Ἀρτέμωνος [ Αὐρ.
Παπίας Παπίου
Αὐρη. Μίθρης Δαμᾶ Μα[ραλλιτεὺς?? (δην.)
Αὐρ. Δομνίων [Ἀμύντου Μητροπολεί-
της (δην.) υνα΄

7. Error of engraver for nom.?

This fragment is closely related to St. 375, 8-10, and 373, 43 (not 376, 34). Menneas, 4, son of Sostratus, St. 373, 19.

6. Quoted as R. V. At Gondane in cemetery on bomos: broken to right: much defaced. (R. 1886: published in *Classical Review*, 1905, p. 420.)† Of the early group.

Ξένοι Τεκμορ[εῖοι 5 Ζωτικὸς Μανδ[

5. Perhaps read Μάν[ου Ἀσκληπι]άδης Συν[ν]αδεύς; but there seems hardly to be room for this.

*I did not communicate this small fragment to Sterrett. Since then I have been able to restore it in part.

†I did not communicate this uncertain text to Sterrett, hoping to be able to restore it. The stone has not been copied by any other person; and I vainly searched for it in 1905.

τὸν βωμὸν ἐ[ποίησαν? ἄδης σὺν ἀδε[λφῷ? (φοῖς?)
ἐ]κ τῶν [ἰδί]ων [μεγάλῃ? ελλίῳ
Ἀ]ρτέμι[δ]ι τῇ [θεᾷ συνεσπούδασ??]εν

7. Quoted as R. VI. At Saghir: fragment said to have been brought from a field (R. 1886, communicated to Sterrett for publication as No. 384).

C
C Є
Ινος [*
Κλευσ]τιανός [*
ο]υ Κ[ι]ννα βο[ρεύς *
ΙΛΠείτης [*
Κτι?]μενηνὸς *[
ην]ὸς *υα΄
Ἰο]υλιεύς
Κτ]ιμενην[ός
οἰκ]ῶν ἐν Ι
ην[ός

8. Quoted as R. VII. At Saghir: on fragment brought to the camp (R. 1886, communicated to Sterrett for publication as No. 383)

οἰκῶν] ἐν [Ἀ]λ[γουνίοις
ν]ος
οἰκῶν ἐν . . .]κώμῃ *
οἰκῶν ἐν] Ἀνπελάδι *
Λαπτουκω[μήτης
ἐν Καβ?]όρκοις *Λ
Κ](α)κείτη[ς Μαληνός

7. α, Λ on stone.

9. Quoted as R. VIII. At Saghir. (R. 1886, communicated to Sterrett for publication as No. 382.)

A. Left.

ἐπὶ ἀναγραφέως Ζ]ωτ[ι]κοῦ Ἀρτέμωνος Βοαλιανοῦ? Τ
Μενεκλῆς Μειλάτμεος

Μάρκος Γλύκωνος Λαπτοκωμήτης
Σίργων Παυλείνου Γαρδυβιανός
Θεμίσων Ἀππᾶ Ἀζαρεὺς
Παπᾶς Ἀρτεμιδώρου Λανκηνὸς
Τίτος Τερέντιος Καρβοκωμήτης
Μάρκος Κούειντος Κοΐντου υἱός
Δημᾶς Ἀ[π]ου[λήι]ου Καρβοκωμήτης
Μάρκος Γάϊος . . . . . Κραδρηνός
Ἀρτεμίδωρος Παπᾶ Λανκηνός
Ζωτικὸς Ἀππᾶ Παγαδηνός.

B. Right.

[Ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν Ἀλε-]
ξάνδρου β΄ Δαοκωμήτου [καὶ]
Παπᾶ Μα-
ξίμου Καρ[μη]νός.

A 2. See R. I. 15: perhaps read Μείλα (Λά)τμεος.

10. Quoted as R. IX. At Saghir (R. 1886).

Αὐρ. Δ[
Αὐρ. Ἰμ[αν
Αὐρ. Μ[
Αὐρ. Π[
Αὐρ. Δ[
Αὐρ. Κόι[ντος
Αὐρ. Ἀτ[
Αὐρ. Κ[
Αὐρ. Μικι[

11. Quoted as R. X. At Gondane (R. 1882, St. 367).

Venia Pontia
L. Pontius M.

2. SM, *liée*, St.; SA, R.

12. Quoted as St. 369. At Saghir. (St. 1885: reviewed R. 1886, more completely in (a), omitting (b) entirely.)

(a) ὑπὲρ τῆς Κυ]ρίων τύχης καὶ [νι-
ί]κης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς

1. ρίων τυχ omitted by St.

καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος αὐτοῦ οἴκου
σωτηρίας ἀνέστησαν Ξένοι
Τεκμορεῖοι Τύχην χάλκεον ἐπ[ὶ ἀ-
ν]αγραφέος Αὐρ. Παπᾶ δὶς Ἀστ[ιπρειζηνοῦ
δ]οὺς ἐπίδοσιν *γφά
Αὐρήλιος? Μ]εννέας
(b) ἐπ]ὶ ἀνα-
γρα]φ(έ)-
ως] Αὐ[ρ.
Ὀπτ[ι?-
μο[υ

3. First N omitted by St. ; it is engraved above.
6. AЄT, St: ΛЄT, R. See p. 363 f.
7. Γ, St: /Γ, R.
8. Omitted by R. Apparently the beginning of a list of names.

These words (seen only by St.) are probably an addition inscribed later in the blank space at the top corner : cp. R. I. Perhaps the text should be restored :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Αὐ[ρ. | or | Αὐ[ρ- |
| Ἀππᾶ?] Ὀπτ- | | ηλίου Ὀπτ[ά- |
| ί]μο[υ | | του Διοτει]μο[υ |

13. Quoted as St. 370. At Saghir. (St. 1885 : reviewed R. 1886, when l. 1 and part of l. 2 had been defaced.) *

| | |
|---|---|
| Μεγάλη] Ἄρ[τεμις ὑπὲρ | illegible. |
| τῆ]ς τῶ[ν] Κ[υρίων] Α[ὐ- | καὶ χάλχωμα |
| τ]οκρατόρων τύχης | καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα [θ- |

1. St. has AP : R. nothing.
2. K and A, only St.
8. St. makes 9 follow 7, numbering it 8 : R. marks the loss of 8.
9. ΛK, St. : AX, R.

* Owing to the misapprehension described in § iii., St. gives the correct reading only in his Appendix, p. 368.

καὶ νέικης καὶ
ἐωνίου διαμονῆς
Ξένοι Τεκμορεῖ-
οι ἀνέστησαν
εᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος [τὴ-
ν ἐν τῷ προνα[ίῳ
ἀπ[οκ]ειμένην

11. ΚΑΙ St.: ϵΑC R. κ and ϵ are often hardly distinguishable in the Tekmoreian inscriptions. G. Hirschfeld conjectured [Περγ]έα, but there is not room for this.

12. Hϵ, St.: Nϵ, R.

13. Aι and PM, St.

14. Quoted as St. 372. At Saghir (St. 1885 : revised R. 1886). This may be heading of St. 373 or 374.

ἀγαθῇ τ]ύχῃ Ξένοι Τεκμορῆοι
ἐπὶ ἀν[αγρα]φέως Γαΐου
Γαργιλίου [Ὀλυμπο-?]
κωμήτου
καὶ βραβευτοῦ Ἀμύν[του Δομνίωνος

5. Compare St. 375, 8; R. IV. 14.

15. Quoted as St. 373. At Saghir: in the turbe above the village (St. 1885 : revised R. 1886).

Συνν]αδεὺς οἰκ[ῶν ἐν] Ὀλιμ]ανάρῳ (St. 374, 11?)
Ζώτικος Συνν]αδεὺς οἰκ[ῶν ἐν Ὀβ]οραις
λων
* ω′
* ω
* ωα′
* ,α9
* ω′
* ψνα′
* ωα′

Αὐ]ρ Λοῦκις Λ[ουκίου Γι]ζηνὸς
Αὐ]ρ Τίος Αὐρ. Φο[. . .] Ζωτικὸς Κατιηνείτης Καρικοῦ υἱὸς βου-
λ]ευτοῦ Ἀντιοχέων

1. For P only Γ in copy of R.

11. Perhaps Τϵ]ρτιος. Two names seem to be mixed here through error of the engraver.

Αὐ]ρ. Ἀβάσκαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου Ταταηνὸς * ψκέ
Αὐ]ρ. Ἀρτέμων Ἀλεξάνδρου Ῥεκοκωμήτης * ψα
Αὐρ.] Μεννέας Ἀρτέμωνος Κνουτεινε[ύς * ψα
Α]ὐρ. Δοῦλος Ἑρμογένου Μαραλλιτ[εύς * ψα
Αὐ]ρ. Ἀντήνωρ Δεξιάδου Κινναβ[ορεύς * ψα
Γ]άϊος Λόλλιος Μάρκου υἱὸς Σαγουη[νὸς * χνα
Αὐ]ρ Σώστρατος Ἀρτέμωνος Κνουτ[εινεὺς * [χ]λε
Αυ]ρ Ἀνδράγαθος Μηνάττου [Κ]έρσου * χκέ
Αὐ]ρ Ἀλέξανδρος Καρικοῦ Ἴλλα Σ[υνναδε]ὺς * χα
Αὐ]ρ Ἰούλιος Καρικοῦ Ἰουλιεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν * χα
Αὐρ] Χαρίτων Λυκίδου Μαληνὸς πρὸς Χῶμα Σακηνὸν * χα
Αὐρ] Ὀρέστης Ἄνδρωνος Εὐμε[νεὺ]ς [ὁ] καὶ [Ὁλμιανός * χα
Αὐρ] Ἑρμῆς Ἴμενος Πατε[ηνὸς * [φ]πέ
Α]ὐρ. Ἀρτέμων β΄. Ἀρτεμιδώ[ρου . . . * φοέ
Α]ὐρ. Ἑρμογένης Ἀρτέ[μωνος . . . * φό
Α]ὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος Μεννέου . . . * φξα
Α]ὐρ. Καρικὸς Καρικοῦ Πατε[η]νὸς * φνα
Α]ὐρ. Μεννέας Ἴμενος Οἰκεηνὸς * φνα
Α]ὐρ. Παπᾶς Μαρίωνος Κλαντ[·]ηνὸς * φνα
Α]ὐρ. Παπίας Ἑρμῆδος Ἰουλιεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν Α[ν]δ[ί]αις * φκ[έ
Α]ὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Ζωτικοῦ Ἀτταληνὸς * φκέ
Αὐ]ρ. Μεννέας Διομήδου Ῥενβεανός * φκέ
Αὐ]ρ. Ἴμαν Ζωτικοῦ Διοφάνου Πταγιανὸς * φα
Α]ὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Ἀρτεμιδώρου Μαληνὸς π[ρὸς Χῶμ]α [Σ]ακηνὸν * φα
Τί]τος Λαιτώριος Τίτου υἱὸς Καλουην[ὸς] * υοέ
Α]ὐρ. Δάδης Μεννέου Κτιμενηνὸς * υοέ
Α]ὐρ. Μεννέας Ἴμενος Πεσκενίατης * υξέ
Α]ὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος Καρικοῦ Ὀουινιάτης * υξέ

16. Not Δοῦ[δ]ος; Δουδᾶς is the usual form of that name.
20. κ omitted by engraver's error.
24. CYMЄΛ, R. (the last letter equivalent to a mutilated N); C· MC St.
40. α for ε in number, St.

Α]ὐρ. Λούκιος Κορνηλίου Σιμικκεύς * υνα΄
Α]ὐρ. Ἀππᾶς Ἀππᾶ Κερασιανὸς δόντος [* υνα]
Αὐ]ρ. Ἀππᾶς Ἀππᾶ Κτιμενηνὸς * υνα΄
Α]ὐρ. Ἴμαν Δημητρίου Τυιτηνὸς * υνα΄
Αὐ]ρ. Ἴμαν Ἀλεξάνδρου Σιμικκεὺς * υνα΄
Αὐ]ρ. Καρικὸς Εὐγνώμονος Ἀδαδεὺς * υκε΄
Αὐ]ρ. Ἀππᾶς Λέωνος Κτιμενηνὸς * υξε΄
Αὐ]ρ. Μεννέας Μεννέου Μαραλλιτεὺς * τπε΄
Αὐ]ρ. Διογένης Σώζοντος Διατορηνὸς * τοε΄
Αὐρ.] Καρικὸς Ἀλεκκᾶς Μαραλλιτεὺς * τοε΄
Αὐρ.] Μεννέας Ζωτικοῦ Μαμᾶ Πεσκενιάτης * τ[
—] Αἴλιος Διονύσις Λυκαονεὺς πρὸς ἔνδον * τ[κε΄
Αὐρ. Μεννέας Ἀρτέμωνος Τυιτηνὸς * τ[
Ζωτ[ικοῦ *
τ

16. Quoted as St. 374. At Saghir : stone behind mosque (St. 1885 : revised R. 1886).

Αὐρ. Ἴμαν?] Ἀππᾶ Παδιανός βουλευτὴς (St. 381, 5)
Αὐρ. Ἀρ]τέμων Φρόντωνος Κινναβορεύς
Αὐρ.] Μεννέας Συν[τρό]φου Γρεκεηνός
Αὐρ.] Λούκις Λουκίου Γιζηνὸς * [·]ω΄
Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀκούτου Νεοφυτηνὸς * ψν
Α]ὐρ. Φοῖβος Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἐκκεανός * ,αν
Α]ὐρ. Τείμαρχ[ος] Ἀρτέμωνος Βαρουκλιανὸς * ψν΄
Αὐρ. Δημήτριος Ἴμενος Ἀπ[ολλ]ωνιάτης * ψλ[
Α]ὐρ. Καρι[κὸ]ς Παπᾶ Νειδεηνὸς * ψν΄
Αὐ]ρ. Ἀβάσκ[α]ντος Ἀλεξάνδρου Ταται[ηνὸς * ψν΄
Α]ὐρ. Γλύκων Ἀσκληπιάδου Συνναδεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν [Ὀλιμανάρῳ? St. 373, 1.
Αὐ]ρ. Ἀρτέμων Ἀλεξάνδρου Ῥε[κο]κωμήτης * ψα΄
Αὐρ.] Μεννέας Ἀρτέμωνος Κνουτινεὺς
Αὐρ.] Δοῦλος Ἑρμογένου Μαραλλιτεὺς

Αὐρ.] Ἀντήνωρ Δεξιάδου Κινναβορεὺς *[χ]α΄
Αὐ]ρ. Γάιος Λόλλιος Μά[ρκου υἱὸς Σ]αγουηνὸς [*χν
Αὐ]ρ. Σώστρατος [Ἀρτέμωνος Κνουτει]νεὺς *χ[λε΄
Αὐ]ρ. Ἀνδράγαθος Μ[ηνάττου Κερασια]νὸς *χκ΄
Αὐρ.] Εἰρηναῖος [Ἀλεξάνδρου Δουδαδηνὸς χαλκία τρία?
Αὐρ.] Ἀλέξανδρος [Καρικοῦ Ἴλλα Συνναδ]εύς
Αὐρ.] Ἰοῦλις Κα[ρικοῦ Ἰου]λιεύς *χα΄
Αὐρ.] Χαρίτων [Λυκίδου Μαληνὸς πρὸς Χῶμα Σα]κηνὸν *χα΄
Αὐ]ρ. Ὀρέστης [Ἄνδρωνος Εὐμενεὺς ὁ καὶ Ὁλμιανός *χα΄
Αὐρ.] Ἑρμῆς [Ἴμενος Πατεηνὸς] *[χ]πε?
Αὐρ.] Ἀρτέμω[ν β΄ Ἀρτεμιδώρου]
Αὐρ.] Ἑρμογ[ένης Ἀρτέμωνος]
Αὐρ.] Ἀλέ[ξανδρος Μεννέου]
Αὐρ]. Ζωτι[κὸς
Αὐρ]. Καρικ[ὸς Καρικοῦ Πατεηνὸς *φνα΄
Αὐρ]. Μεννέ[ας Ἴμενος Ὀίκεηνὸς *φνα΄
Αὐ]ρ. Παπ[ᾶς Μαρίωνος Κλαντ . ηνὸς *φνα΄
Αὐ]ρ. Ἀριστ[όδημος or -οκλῆς, see R. III. 15, 42.
Αὐ]ρ. Πα[πίας Ἑρμῆδος Ἰουλιεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν Α[ν]δ[ί]αις
Αὐ]ρ. Ζω[τικὸς Ζωτικοῦ Ἀτταληνός]
Αὐ]ρ. Μεν[νέας Διομήδου Ῥενβεανός]
Αὐ]ρ. Παπᾶ[ς
Α]ὐρ. Ἴμαν [Ζωτικοῦ Διοφάνου Πταγιανὸς]
Αὐρ. Ζω[τικὸς Ἀρτεμιδώρου Μαληνὸς Πρὸς Χῶμ]α Σακηνόν
Τίτος Λ[αιτώριος Τίτου υἱὸς Καλουηνὸς] *υπ[ε?
Αὐρ. Ἴμαν εύς [*υ]πε
Α]ὐρ. Δά[δης Μεννέου Κτιμενηνὸς] *νε΄
Α]ὐρ. Μεν[νέας Ἴμενος Πεσκενιάτης] *υξ
Α]ὐρ. Ἀλέ[ξ]ανδρος [Καρικοῦ Ὀουινιάτης] *υξ΄
Αὐ]ρ. Καρικὸς Εὐγνώ[μονος Ἀδαδεύς *υξ
Α]ὐρ. Λοῦκις Κορνηλίου [Σιμικκεὺς *υνα΄
Αὐρ. Ἀππᾶς Παπᾶ Κε[ρασιανὸς δ]όντος *υνα΄

19. [Αλ]: M in copy. See St. 379, 3.

Αὐρ. Ἀππᾶς Ἀππᾶ [Κτιμενηνὸς] * υν[α´
Α]ὐρ. Ξένων [Ἀλεξά]νδρ[ου] Νεο[φ]υτηνὸς [δο]ύς * υ[να
Αὐρ. Ἴμαν Γ[α]ΐου Τλουηνὸς * υνα´
Αὐ]ρ. Ἴ]μαν Ἀλ[εξάνδ]ρου Σ[ι]μικκεὺς * υκε´
Αὐ]ρ. Ἀππᾶ[ς Λέωνος Κ]τιμενηνὸς * τπε´
Αὐ]ρ. Με[ννέας Μεννέου] Μα[ρ]άλλιτ[εὺς * τπε´?]
Αὐ]ρ. Διογ[ένης Σώζοντος Διατορηνὸς * τπε´?]
Αὐ]ρ. Μεννέας [Ζωτικοῦ Μαμᾶ Πεσκενιάτης * τν?]α´
Αὐ]ρ. Ἴμαν [ * τ[να´
. . . νις Αἴλ[ιος Δ]ιονύσις Λυκαονεὺς πρὸς ἔνδον * τκε´
—] Πολυμαργηνὸς * τα´
Αὐρ]. Καρικ[ὸς] Δημητρίου Μαραλλιτεὺς τε´ *
Αὐ]ρ. Μεννέας Ἀρτέμωνος Τευιτηνὸς * σμ´
Αὐρ. Ἐπικ?]ρά[τ]ης Μ

17. Quoted as St. 375. At Saghir (St. 1885 : revised R. 1886). Of the earlier group.

πρὸ] α´ Κ[αλ.] Μαία[ς? (ΑΓΑ R., ΑΤΑ St.)
ἐπὶ] ἀναγραφέως Αὐ[ρ.
Μην]οδώρου Λουκείο[υ βουλευτοῦ?
Ἀντ]ιοχέως δόντο[ς *
ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν Αὐρ.] Πρωτ(ᾶ) Ἀνακλίτου Ἑρμ[οκωμήτου
καὶ Αὐρ. Ζ]ωτικοῦ τοῦ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Γλ[ύκ̣ων]ος Συναδεύ[ς
Αὐρ. Κα]ρικὸς Μάνου Ἀκροηνὸς * ψι
Αὐ]ρ. Δομνίων Ἀμύντου Μητροπο]λείτης * χ´
Αὐ]ρ. Σωκράτης β´. Κουσεανὸς ἱερεὺς * φα´
Αὐ]ρ. Ζωτικὸς Κωκούτας Ἑρμοκώμη(ς) ? Συν(ν)αδεύς * υξε´
Αὐ]ρ Ζωτικὸς Μάνου Σουσίλου Κ]αρμηνὸς * υ[
Παι]δίσκος Ἀντιόχου Καρμην]ὸς * υλ
Αὐ]ρ. Γλύκων Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἐσουακωμή]της * υκε´
Ἐ]πὶ βραιβευτῶν Α Ἀλκίμου Αλκίμου Παπα]ηνοῦ * υκ´
καὶ Αππᾶ Γαΐου Λαπιστρη]νοῦ * σβ´
Αὐρ Δι]οκλῆς Διοκλῆδος Παπαηνὸς * υ]κ´
Αὐρ. Ἄ]ττα̣λος Καρικοῦ Κλ[ε]ληνὸ]ς * νε´

Αὐρ. Χ]αρίτων Λυκίδου Μαλ[η] | νός π(ρ)ὸς Χῶμα-
Σακ[ηνὸν
Αὐρ. Α]λέξανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου [Δ]ι[α] | τορηνὸς * τπζ΄
Αὐρ. Δι]ονύσει(ος) Ζωτικοῦ Τετθηνὸς | * τπέ΄
Αὐρ. Π]οσιδώνιος ὁ καὶ Αὐξάνων [Κιν] | ναβορεὺς *
Αὐρ. Ἀβ]άσκαντος Μόσχου Νειδειαν | ὸς * τοέ΄
Αὐρ. Ξέν?]ων Γλύκωνος Καρμην | ὸς * τξα΄
Αὐρ. Γά]ειος Γαείου Μουζηνὸς | * τνέ΄
Αὐρ. Ξέ]νων Ἀσκληπιάδου Π | εροκιανὸς
Αὐρ. Παπ?]ίας Μεν(ν)έου Τυ(ι)τηνὸς * | [τ]λέ΄
Αὐρ. Καρι?]κὸς Καρσενδεὺς * σο΄ |
Αὐρ. Ἰσ?]ίδωρος Μενάνδρου Ναζουλεύς | * σα΄
Αὐρ. *Ατ]ταλος Ἐπαφρᾶδος Καμαργην | [ὸς [* τα΄
Μεν]εκράτης Μηνοφίλου Σ | [ουρ]βιανὸς
NBOK | * τκέ΄

18. Quoted as St. 376. Saghir (St. 1885 : revised R. 1886).
— βουλευτὴς τῆς λαμπ]ροτάτης Ἀπολλωνιατῶν πόλεως
δο[ὺς (δην)—
Αὐρ. Μακεδὼν Μάρκου Μενεκλέους Κασωνιάτης βουλευτὴς
τῆς λανπροτάτ[ης] Ἀντιοχέων πόλεως δοὺς ἐπίδοσιν
(δην.). ΑΦΑ
Ε]ὐτύχ[ ]ς Μ[ ] οἰκῶν ἐν
Αὐρ. Σκύμ?]νος Μενάνδρου β΄ Α[ρ]ασι[ζ]εὺς (δην.) ΓΑ
Αυρ. Ζ]ώσι[μος — Συνν]αδεὺς? Κτιμενηνός (δην.) ΓΑ *
Αὐρ. —]ς Μακεδόνος Συνναδεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν Ἀλγονίοις (δην.)
ἐπὶ βραβευ]τῶν Αὐρ. Ζωτικοῦ Κοΐντου Ὀλυνποκωμ[ή]το[υ
κὲ Αὐρ. [ Σ]υνναδ[έω]ς ο[ἰ]κοῦντος ἐν[—
Αὐρ. Ζ]ωτικοῦ Συνναδεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν Ὀβόρα[ς *
Αὐρ. — Ἀσκλη]πιάδου Ἀρασιζεύς (δην.) ΓΑ
Αὐρ. — — Συννα]δεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν Μάνδρῃ (δην.) ΓΑ
(Five lines lost.)

5. VIO\ ΛЄYCKT, St.: \ACYCKT, R.
9. TAI, St.: ΓAI, R., with note that T is certainly wrong.

17 Αὐρ. οἰκῶν ἐ]ν OC[. . .]COIC (δην.) ,BI
21 Ἀρτ]έμων Λου[κίου
26 ΓΑΙ τῆς λαν]π[ρ]ο[τ]άτης κολωνία[ς Ἀντιοχείας
32 Αὐρ.] Ὀνήσ[ι]μ[ο]ς [—ου] Συνναδεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν Πε[λιγ]άνῳ δην. ΑΨΑ
Αὐρ.] Ζωτικὸ[ς —]ου Συνναδεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν Κουμαλέττῳ δην. Α[ΧΝ]Α
Αὐρ.] Ἀππᾶς Α[ππᾶ] Λ[α]φυστρεὺς [δην. ΑΧ]ΝΑ
35 Αὐρ.] Ζωτικὸς Μ ΝΝΟC[ κωμ]ήτης (δην.) ΑΧΝΑ
Αὐρ. Ἀππᾶς Α[πο]λλο[δότου] Ψ[ερ]κι[οκωμήτ]ης (δην.) ΑΧΑ
Αὐρ. Ἴμ]αν Δαμᾶδος τοῦ [ δην.] ΑΧΝΑ
Αὐρ. Κ]αρικὸς Ἀττάλου Ἀνπελαδην[ός Αὐρ.] Ζωτικὸς Σκύμνου
Αὐρ.] Ὀνήσιμος Ζωτικοῦ Συνναδεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν [Πε]λιγάνῳ δην. ΑΦΝΑ.
40 Αὐρ. Σ]ύντροφος Μενέ[ου — δην. ΑΦ]ΝΑ Αὐ[ρ]. Ζωτικὸς β Πεσκενιάτης (δην.) [
οἰκῶ]ν ἐν Χουμαλίττῳ δην. ΑΦΑ
Αὐρ. Ν?]εων Εὐγ[νώμονος Ἀδαδεὺς δην.] ΑΤΝ Αὐ[ρ.] Ἴμαν Μ[ ]ίας Ῥα[ιτη]ν[ός
ΠΑCΚΡΑΤΗCΙ Παπίας Ἀλεξάνδρου Αἰζηνὸς (δην.) ,ΑΤ.
Α]ὐρ. Πασικράτης Αὐρ. Γάλβας Γαίου Λιμενίας
45 ΗΝΑΝ [ Συννα]δεὺς οἰκοῦντος ἐν ΠΡΕ Ἀνπελ[άδι
Μαραλλι?]τεύ[ς [Αὐρ.] Μάρκος Ὀπτάτου Μικωνιάτ[ης
Ρω Αὐρ. Ἥλιος Παπίου Τι[τηνός
Παπ]ίου Νων[ ]ς (δην.) ,ΑΤΑ

33. ICOYM for KOYM is clear in both copies.

33, 34 and 35, 36 begin in the same way ; and R. omits 35, text very doubtful.

35 perhaps Αὐρ.] Ζωτικὸς [Ἀρτέ]μ[ω]νος.

41. St. has ΑΨΑ.

42. Compare St. 373, 46.

43. Is ΠΑCΚΡΑΤΗC dittography of 44? it is not given by R.

45. The letters ηρε or πρε seem to be an engraver's error.

Αὐρ. Δι]ονύσις [ ]τηνός (δην.) ΑΤΑ′
ΑΙΚ ЄΜ (δην.) ΑΤΑ′
Αὐρ. Κ]αρικὸς Μ[ (δην.) ΑΣΝΑ′. Αὐρ. Ζωτικ[ός
ΝΙΔΑΤΑ Ἀνπε]λαδηνός
Αὐρ.] Ζωτικὸ[ς —] (δην.) ΑCΑ′. Αὐρ. Ἀππᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρ[ου
Αὐρ Κ]αρικὸς [— υ Συνναδεὺς οἰκῶν] ἐν Ἀλγουνίυς δην. ΑCΑ′
Αὐρ.] Παπίας Κερασιανός
Αὐρ.] Αὐξάνω[ν ασσου

On the other side of the stone are two names :—

(1) Αὐρ. [Πρίσκ]ος Μακεδόνος Λαμι[σ]ηνὸς δόντος (δην.) ΒCΝΑ′, in three short lines. He occurs in R. III. 26, and belongs here to about l. 15-17.

(2) — Χαιλιαρεὺς (δην.) ΒΑ′. He belongs to about l. 20.

19. Quoted as St. 377. At Saghir (St. 1885 : revised and confirmed R. 1886).

πρὸ · κα]λ. Μ[αίας?
Αὐ](ρ.) Αὐξ[άνων
Μητροπ]ολείτης
Αὐ]ρ. Ἀσκληπιάδ[ης Ἀλεξ-
ἀνδρ]ο(υ) Θετ[θηνός (R. III. 4)
Αὐ]ρ. Ἀσκληπιάδη[ς Ἀρτέ-
μωνο]ς Κνουτειν[εὺς (R. I. 63)

*τγ

Αὐρ.] Ἑρμῆς Ἀπ[πᾶδος
Κ[ρ]αδρην[ός
Αὐρη?]λιος Ἀππ[ᾶς
]ος
Αὐ]ρ. Ἴμαν Μεννέου [Πεσκενιάτης (p. 353)
Αὐρ.] Καρικὸς Μακεδ[όνος
Τυρση?]νός
Αὐρ.] Αὐξάνων Πρου[ρειστρεύς
Αὐρ. Μεν]νέας

20. Quoted as St. 378. At Saghir (St. 1885 : revised and confirmed R. 1886).

ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν Ἀττ]άλου Χαρ[ίτω|ν]ο[ς
Συνναδέως] οἰκῶν ἐν Πι[λι |γ]αν[ῳ
καὶ Αὐρ. Ἑρμ]ογένου Ἑρ |[μ]έως Δ[αο-
κωμ]ήτου δόντ|ος * ψοε΄
Κινναβορεύ|ς * ωκ΄
νος Σουρβιαν|ὸς * ωα΄
ικου β΄ Ἀττε|ανός * ωα΄
Μ]αρσιανὸς|* ωκε΄
ος Κινναβο[ρ]|εὺς * ωα΄
οἰκῶν] ἐν Ἀλγιζ[έ]|οις * ωα΄
λιανος|* ψνα΄
νος|ω * ψνα΄

21. Quoted as St. 379 (St. 1885).

Αὐρ. Ὀρέστης Ἄνδρ?]ωνος [Εὐμενεὺς ὁ κ]αὶ Ὀλ[μιανός?
Αὐρ. Γάιος Μανον[
Αὐρ. Εἰρηνέος Ἀλεξάνδρου Δουδαδηνὸς χαλκ[ᾶ τρία?
Αὐρ. Καρικὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου Καχείτης Μαληνός

This is a fragment of a duplicate of St. 373 and 374 : see 373, 24, and 374, 23, 19. In 2 probably Γάιος Μάνο(υ).

22. Quoted as St. 380. At Saghir (St. 1885 : revised R. 1886 more complete) : letters very faint.

Αὐρηλία
Οὐενοῦστα
Ζευσξίδος
Κλευστιανο[ῦ
Ἀρχιγάλλο[υ
τῆς θε]ᾶς Ἀ[ρτέ-
μιδο]ς τὸν ἀ-
νδριάντα ἐ[κ
τῶν] ἰδίων
ἀναλωμάτ-
ων ἀν[έ]στη-
σεν Ἀρτέ-
μιδι Σατιπ[ρ-
ειζηνῇ εὐχ-
ήν

7. ο]ς : CЄ in copy.

23. Quoted as St. 381. At Saghir : fragment on the turbe in the village (St. 1885 : revised R. 1886).

μμε
α]νηνὸς *
Ἀνπελαδη[νὸς
ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν] Αὐρ. Αὐξάνον[τος. . . .
καὶ Αὐρ. Ἴμε[νος
Ἀππᾶ] Παδιανὸς [βουλευτὴς Ἀντιοχείας
Αὐρ. Μεννέας Ζωτίκο?]υ Πλουρισ[τρεύς? (R. I. 37)
Αὐρ Ἀσκληπι]άδης Ἀλε[ξάνδρου [Θυρσηνός (R. III. 4)
*. . .] ϵ finis
ἐπὶ μισθωτοῦ? Ἐπ]ικράτου Ἰπ[π
Ἀντιοχ]εὺς πολείτ[ης
Ἀ]λγιζεὺς κα[ὶ Συνναδεύς
Ἀσ]κληπιά[δου
ς * φμα΄
CI

(b) On back of same stone (St. 1885, only).

K]όιντ[
]ν Μα[κεδόνος
ς Μει
*χο΄
ηνὸ[ς *
-κωμή]της [
*

3. Compare R. I. 15, St. 382, 2.

6. False concord. The restoration from St. 374, 1, is improbable: *cf.* 7, 8.

24. Saghir. Quoted as Call. I. In the fountain : rough soft stone : worn letters. The inscription is in a pointed pediment (Callander 1906).

[D.] M.
T[i.] C[l]a[udio
V] i c e n i o n i
4 sacerdoti D[i]an[ae
Τι. Κλαυδίῳ Εὐγη-
*νίωνι ἱερεῖ Ἀρτέμιδος.*
*ὃς ἂν τούτῳ τῷ μνημείῳ κακῶς*
8 *ποιήσηι,* ΑΓΑΙΑ *αὐτῷ γένοιτο.*

3, 4. c is represented in the copy by a symbol like K, or IC placed very close together.

4. Imperfect traces in the copy suggest that the name was Deanae.

5. The rendering of Vicenio as *Εὐγηνίων* is remarkable : the reason is obvious. Icenio is tempting, but gives no reason for the Greek form (the Latin name is the original ; the Greek has no independent existence) ; he was a freedman of Claudius in charge of the estates, and as priest of the goddess practically vice-king and ruler of the people (see p. 309). His Roman connexion explains the use of Latin.

8. Perhaps *ἀ[ρ]αὶ αὐτῷ γενοι[ν]το,* or *ἀ[ρ]ὰ ἂ[ν] αὐτῷ γένοιτο,* but neither is satisfactory : or *ἄγια,* or *ἀ[ρ]αῖα* (Aesch. *Ag.*, 1398). The copy is difficult.

25. Saghir. Quoted as Call. II. In the fountain (Callander 1906) : worn letters.

*ὁ αὐτὸς Σκύ- γείνεσθαι* ΒΘ-
*μνος καὶ ἐ[τ]ι* ΝΟC Δεὶ Καλ[α-
*ἐπικαταλεί- καγαθίῳ ὑ-*
*πω τῇ κώμῃ* 9 *πὲρ καρπῶν*
5 (δην.) *ρ΄. ἐκ τόκου*

2. I second last letter in copy.

6, 7. Perhaps read [Κ]*έ*[ρ]*νος,* a mystic vase used in the Phrygian ritual : the word is generally masculine, but Hesychius has it as neuter.

7. Last letter \, either *α* or λ : perhaps Καλ[λο-] should be read. This deity, Zeus Kalokagathios, if this be the true reading, is a strange form of the Anatolian god, invoked here on behalf of the crops. See Index. The form *Δεί* is sometimes used in Phrygian Greek, *B.C.H.*, 1887, p. 493, *Mous. Sm.*, i., p. 37.

## VI. MEANING AND AIMS OF THE TEKMOREIOI.

It is certain that Sterrett and Ziebarth (see § iii.) were wrong in assigning a local signification to the epithet Tekmoreioi. The decisive passage is R. III. 34, Αὐρ. Λούκιος Λουκίου Γιζηνὸς τεκμορεύσας δίς (δηνάρια) τα΄. The same person occurs in St. 373, 10, [Αὐ]ρ. Λοῦκις Λ[ουκίου Γι]ζηνός (δηνάρια)ωα΄, and St. 374, 4,* [Αὐρ.] Λοῦκις Λουκίου Γιζηνός (δηνάρια) [?]ω[α.]΄. Lucius of Gissa † son of Lucius, ἐτεκμόρευσεν twice ; the first act is recorded simply by his name and the amount of his subscription, the second more fully (unique in the whole of the lists). The second entry proves that the whole series of inscriptions record the performance of a certain action, τεκμορεύειν, by a series of individuals, who evidently were styled τεκμορεῖοι after they ἐτεκμόρευσαν. The nature of the list, then, would be expressed by a phrase like οἵδε ἐτεκμόρευσαν or οἱ τεκμορεύσαντες (the former like οἵδε ἐπηγγείλαντο κα[ὶ ἐπ]έδωκαν κτλ. at Mylasa Cariae, *Ath. Mitth.*, 1890, p. 261 : the latter like οἱ ἰσελθόντες εἰς τὴν γερουσίαν κτλ. at Sebaste Phrygiae, *Cities and Bish.*, ii., p. 602, No. 475). The preamble of R. I. may therefore be restored as given above.

The question now arises what was the action called τεκμορεύειν. The character of the inscriptions as a whole shows emphatically that it was some religious act. The verb is otherwise unknown ; it was certainly an invention of the society and the period ; and it is indubitably connected with τέκμωρ and τεκμορεῖοι, an old and dead epic word revivified in that artificial Greek of Phrygia, and a derivative invented to designate a new Society. Everything about it is artificial ; and therefore this Society cannot be regarded as an ancient Phrygian institution, but as one devised to suit the situation and circumstances

* St. 374 is an improved copy of St. 373 ; two antigrapha were kept (at different places, perhaps) ; but they differ in order of names.

† Gissa or Gisza, a village east of Ak-Sheher (Philomelion), Anderson in *J.H.S.*, 1898, p. 113 : Carian γίσσα "stone". The form Λοῦκις for Λούκιος is a common phenomenon, best treated by Prof. J. H. Wright in *Harvard Studies*, vi., 1895, pp. 55 ff., and Benseler in *Curtius Studien*, iii., pp. 150 ff. See p. 133 of this volume.

of the third century after Christ. We may, however, confidently say that the action called τεκμορεύειν was made a part of the mystic ritual, which formed the chief part of the Anatolian religion : that follows from the very nature of the religion.

Now the specific character of the religion of these estates is—as was inevitable and natural—that it united God and the Emperor. Such was the character of the State religion in all the cities of Asia Minor, and especially on the Imperial estates. The addition to the mystic ritual, certainly, must have had some relation to the conjoint deity, the Emperor : in other words the Tekmor was some solemn sign and pledge of the loyalty of the celebrant to the Emperor and his service.

We can hardly be mistaken in connecting the institution of this solemn secret symbolic act with the greatest political fact of the third century, the war between the State and the Christian faith. The critical and determining question about each successive Emperor at that time turns on his attitude to the Christians ; and the test of the real import of every event then is its bearing on the relation between the Christians and the State.* The alliance between the State and the old pagan worship was made in order to strengthen resistance to the new faith. Persecution was regularly accompanied by an outbreak of pagan devotion, a sort of revival, as has been pointed out in my *Letters to the Seven Churches*, pp. 105 ff. ; I know no other place where the connexion is traced in detailed acts between religious revival and popular persecution of the Christians, though Mommsen argued (in a large degree rightly, though too exclusively) that persecution was due mainly to popular excitement hounding on a government, in itself unwilling, to put down the Christians. It is permissible to regard the excitement and the revival as engineered by the government to some extent.

* The history of the Roman Empire urgently requires to be rewritten from a more statesman-like point of view, *viz.*, how the great struggle of religions and the social systems which they implied was fought out on the field of the Empire.

A sign and pledge of loyalty was publicly exacted from all who were accused of Christianity, *viz.*, the offering of sacrifice or even simply incense to the Emperor. The sign and seal of loyalty was demanded of all truly loyal persons in Asia during the persecution of Domitian (*Letters to the Seven Churches*, *loc. cit.*). Examples of the growing fervency of the pagan religion in time of persecution, acting on the Emperors and at the same time stimulated by them, probably, are quoted in that chapter, one at Acmonia dated A.D. 251 under Decius,* another in the same place dated A.D. 313 under Maximin and Licinius,† a third on the Imperial estate of Tembrion ‡ contemporary with the last: all these relate to one family. As this subject has never been worked up, I may add that a memorial of the same class from Galatia may be recognised in the tombstone erected by four children, Am(m)on, Apollo, Manes, and Matar (all bearing the names of gods §), to their mother Anna, another in the brief Μάρκου Πολιήτου φιλοσόφου πάντων φίλου at Temenothyrai (*Cit. and Bish.*, ii., p. 495),‖ and yet another in a remarkable inscription of Appa-Serai in Isauria which has been so misapprehended by the first editors that it must be repeated here.

26. Appa-Serai, published by MM. Radet and Paris, *B.C.H.*, 1887, p. 63.

Μᾶ ¶ Παππᾶ θυγάτ-
ηρ, παρθένος κὲ κατὰ γέ-
3 νος ἱέρεια τῆς θεοῦ κὲ
τῶν ἁγίων, ἐκ τῶν ἰ-
δίων ἀνέλαβεν κὲ
6 ἐκεράμωσεν τὸν ναόν.

The mention of the ἅγιοι is clearly due to Christian influence. In this pagan reaction, when the language of the Fourth Gospel was

* R. in *Revue des Ét. Anc.*, 1901, p. 275 f., corrected 1902, p. 269.

† *Cities and Bish.*, ii., p. 566.

‡ Souter in *Cl. Rev.*, xi., p. 138; *Cities and Bish.*, ii., p. 790.

§ On Manes see *Cities and Bish.*, ii., p. 566. The inscription is published in *J.H.S.*, 1899, p. 84, by Mr. Anderson, who shows that it belongs to an Imperial estate.

‖ See p. 25. ¶ The editors read M. A.

taken and adapted to express the ideas of the new popular philosophy (as in one of the Phrygian inscriptions * quoted above), it is not strange that the congregation of the renovated temple should be called by the Christian title, "the saints". The Christian tone is so evident that, at first, I was disposed to make the inscription Christian, reading θε(οτόκ)ου in l. 3, on the supposition that the copyists might have omitted a sign of abbreviation (which might be worn or illegible). But that would require the date of the inscription to be the fifth century at earliest; and the character of the text shows that it can hardly be much later than A.D. 300. It may confidently be placed under Diocletian or Maxentius. The divine names Μᾶ and Παππᾶς are of the kind that were commonly applied to human beings in the pagan reaction, and the machinery of the Christian Church, the Virgins and the Saints, were naturally borrowed then. The temple had fallen into decay and lost its roof, when it was refitted to accommodate the new votaries of the old faith in a land which had already become almost wholly Christian.

Such, then, seems to have been the Tekmor: it was a pledge of loyalty to the State in its contest with the Christians. It seems possible that the exordium of R. I. defined the character of the Tekmor more clearly. The δίπυ[λον] seems a strange place to hold the ceremony: it could hardly be anything but a double archway, a temple of Janus. Should the word be restored as dative of the substance through which the Tekmor was given, or shown, or performed, *e.g.* οἵδε ἐτεκμόρευσαν τ]ῷ διπύ[ρῳ ἐπὶ ἀναγραφ]έως κτλ.? But it is hard to see how the sign could be exhibited by means of the twice-fired bread. It is, however, noteworthy that the Galli fasted from ordinary bread (Arnob., *adv. Nat.*, v., 16; Tertull., *Jejun.*, 2 and 15).

It will be shown in the following § vii., that these Tekmoreian documents fall into two groups, separated by an interval of thirty to forty years. Most of the short lists must be assigned to the earlier

* *Cities and Bish.*, ii., p. 566.

period, and they evidently belong to a time of revival and restoration of the old religious ceremonial. We are reminded of Pliny's experience in Bithynia A.D. 111-3, when, after a little activity on his part, there were many recantations, the ceremonial and sacrifices in the temples were restored, and doubtless dedications were made similar to those recorded in these Tekmoreian monuments. To have one's name on any of these lists was equivalent to the carrying of a *libellus*, or certificate of loyalty and conformity to the State religion, which was bestowed in Egypt and elsewhere. Probably many of the names in the lists are those of Christians who recanted.

It remains to ask what is the reason for the existence of two inscriptions of the earlier period, which approximate to being duplicate lists, St. 373 and 374 : the names differ in order : some occur in one but not in the other list, but the apparent omission may be due only to the fact that both stones are broken and both lists incomplete. The amount of the donations, where ascertainable, usually agrees in the two lists, so that they cannot be records of subscriptions for two different purposes. They cannot be regarded as duplicate records, for they differ too much ; but they may be two independent records of the same enrolment. It is much to be desired that excavations should be made at Saghir, or at least that some good epigraphist should spend a week or two in this region and make a very thorough search.

## VII. CHRONOLOGY.

The period to which these inscriptions belong can be determined more narrowly. In publishing R. I. for the first time, I placed it about 225 ; but this is too early. In the first place the relative order of the longer inscriptions must be fixed : thereafter we can attempt to determine their date absolutely. That St. 373 and 374 (which are nearly duplicates) are a generation older than St. 375, 376, R. I., III., IV., and that the latter form a group nearly contemporaneous, though probably R. I. is the latest in the group,

seems to follow from the following review of the persons whose names occur in more than one inscription.

R. I. 8-10. The *ἀναγραφεύς* as restored *Αὐρ.* [*Δημήτριος*] *Ὀνησίμου* occurs in R. III. 40. Presumably, he was an older man, when he became Anagrapheus, than when he was simply Tekmoreios. Therefore R. III. is earlier than R. I. though belonging, on the whole, to the same generation (as we shall see).

13. The first Brabeutes Aur. Alexandros son of Alexandros of Thyrsa is younger brother of Aur. Asklepiades of Thyrsa R. III. 4 (see note).

16. Aur. Timotheos, son of Demetrius, occurs also in R. III. 36; he lived in Marsia first, later in Karbokome, pp. 355, 367: presumably these must have been neighbouring villages.

21. Skymnos, son of Asklas, is father of Cornelius, l. 27.

22. See note on R. III. 25.

32. Posidonius Artemonis is not the same as Posidonius *alias* Auxanon, St. 375, l. 21, but is son of Artemon Phrontonis, St. 374.

34. Loukios, son of Karikos, who is the same as Aur. Karikos, son of Papas, in St. 374, l. 9: therefore St. 374 (= 373) is a whole generation earlier than R. I. and St. 375.

49. [*Συνναδεύς*?] is omitted by the engraver before *οἰκῶν*: *cf.* St. 373, 21, *Αὐρ Ἀλέξανδρος Καρικοῦ Ἴλλα* * *Συνναδεύς*: but these can hardly be the same, for then we should have R. I. and St. 373 contemporary: usually R. I. is later. But see p. 354 f.

51. See note on 56.

53. Zoticus Zotici Imenis has four brothers, Karikos, Arzanos, Papas, and Maximus, who showed the Tekmor below, ll. 61, 92, 93, 105. It might seem from this fact that the list extended over a series of years, and that these five sons, as they reached a certain age, performed the ceremony; but this supposition must be rejected. The names in R. I. form a single list, arranged on one plan strictly according to the amount of money subscribed, and dated all in the

* Possibly IMA.

same year. The other lists also are dated (so far as recoverable); and some contain the list of more than one year, with new dating for each new year. Presumably R. I. belongs to a year when there was special activity among the Tekmoreian association. As so many brothers ἐτεκμόρευσαν in the same year, it is evident that the ceremony was not connected with the reaching of a specified age, such as the "coming of age" or the assumption of the *toga virilis*.

56. The Xenoi from Ampelada form a connected group: two sons of Attalus, Artemon 51 and Karikos, St. 376, l. 38: two sons of Karikos, Severus 56 and Alexander 96: two sons of Alexander, Quintus 98 and Menander 107: finally Attalus son of Menander. But the stemma is impossible, and must be shortened in some way, by supposing either that there was more than one family with such common names as Alexander and Attalus, or that one or two sons have been omitted.

In this uncertainty no inferences seem deducible from the Ampeladene names.

65. Karikos Menneae Menodori is perhaps brother of [Pap?]ias Menneae, St. 375, l. 26. Menneas Artemonis (St. 373, 53 = 374, 59) is of an earlier generation, probably brother of Menodorus: but this supposition would place two generations between the earlier and the later group of inscriptions, and therefore it must be regarded as very uncertain. See below on R. III. 38.

66. Menneas Papa Artemonis K. is not a younger brother of Appas Papa K., St. 374, 46 (for St. 373, 42 mentions the same person as Appas Appa K., which is probably preferable: Appas δίς would be the commoner, though not invariable form). In 97 Menneas Appadis K. is son of Appas Appa: Appados and Appa were both used as genitives of Appas. Thus R. I. is usually a generation later than St. 373 (= 374).

84. Zoticus Imenis Demetrii: his father Iman Demetrii occurs in St. 373, l. 44: a perfectly decisive proof that St. 373 (= 374) is a full generation earlier than R. I.

R. III. 3. *Cf.* Μάρκος Ὀπτάτου Μικωνιάτης, St. 376, l. 46.

4. Thyrsenos : see on R. I. 13. Asklepiades Alexandri Th. is probably son of Alexander Asklepiadis T. in R. I. 67. Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀππᾶ [Θ]υρσηνός,* R. I. 103, may be a cousin of Asklepiades here. See also Ἀσκλπι]άδης Ἀλε[ξάνδρου], St. 381, 8.

11. If we restore Αὐ]ρ. Ἴμαν Μεννέου [Πεσκενιάτης in St. 377, l. 13, we can here read Iman elder brother of [Zot]ikos, l. 24, who also occurs in R. I. 116. Αὐρ. Ζ. Μενέου Πεσκενιάτης (so in my copy 1886 and 1905), and son of St. 373, 39 Αὐρ. Μεννέας Ἴμενος II. This makes R. III. nearly contemporary with R. I., and a generation younger than St. 373. The epitaph of Aur. Menneas Imenos is perhaps published by Mr. Anderson in *J.H.S.*, 1898, p. 119, which would prove that Pescenia was a village on the estates S.E. of Ak-Sheher. Pescennius Niger must have passed near it in his retreat from Nicaea to the Cilician Gate.†

14. Κλαύ]διος Μαξίμου Ἐζαρεύς, perhaps son of Οὐέσσμιος Μαξίμος Γισζηνός R. I. 19. Gisza and Ezara were near one another : see below.

15. Δι?]οκλῆς Ἄνδρωνος may be younger brother or nephew of Αὐρ. Ὀρέστης Ἄνδρωνος [Εὐμενεύς] ὁ καὶ[——] in St. 373, l. 24. The family had become settled in village life since St. 373 was engraved and the city connexion forgotten. See also St. 379, 1 —Ἄνδρ]ων[ος Εὐμενεὺς ὁ κ]αὶ Ὀλ[μιανός.

16. Restored conjecturally as son of Alexander, St. 373, l. 21.

19. —ς Δημητρίου Μαρσιανός is elder brother of Τειμόθεος Δημητρίου M. in l. 36. The latter is called Καρβοκωμήτης in R. I. 16. Therefore R. III. is of the same generation as R. I.

25. Αὐρ. Ἀρτέ]μων Αὐξάνοντος Κελυνιάτης is perhaps cousin of Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων Μεννέου Κελουενιάτης R. I. 22.

26. See St. 376, end.

* CYPCHNOC, slip of engraver.

† Hence I prefer to regard the Pesceniate Menneas Imenos as the one whose epitaph Anderson publishes, rather than the Oikeênian, St. 373, 30.

28. There can hardly be more than five letters lost, and the last is either Τ or Γ or Ε or Ε : not Ζ or Ξ). Ζω[σᾶδος] Ἀνδιηνός is probable, *cf.* St. 373, 32, where I read in 1886 οἰκῶν ἐν Α·\ Δ ΛΙC *i.e.* Ἀ[ν]δ[ι]αις.

29. [Αὐρ.—]ς Ἴμενος Π. is brother of Αὐρ. Ἑρμῆς Ἴμενος Π. St. 373, 25.

32. He appears as Αὐρ. Μενέδημος Ἀλεκᾶς Κτ. in St. 366, l. 109 ; R. III. is contemporary with R. I.

34. Lucius of Giza also occurs in St. 373, 10, 374, 4. It is evident that they record the first occasion when he showed the Tekmor, while the present inscription records the second. On the first occasion he gave 801 denarii, on the second only 301.

35. From St. 373, 29, 374, 29, there is a temptation to read Καρικοῦ instead of Μάρκου, supposing a fault of the engraver, but chronology is against that. The text is certain.

36. See on l. 19.

38. Probably Ανδραγάθου is omitted after Μήνατος by fault of engraver. This restored Andragathos is mentioned as Αὐρ. Ἀνδραγάθος Μηνάττου Ερσου, St. 373, 20, where [Κ]έρσου may safely be read, as there is a gap before ΕΡ, and in the duplicate, St. 374, 18 the reading is Μ[ηνάττου Κερασια]νός. The name of the village was therefore Kersos or Kerasos, with ethnic Κερασιανός.

The length of interval between St. 373-4, and R. I., III., etc., is determined by the fact that at least one man, Lucius of Gissa, appears in both groups. Though the case seems quite unique, a possibility remains that there may be other similar instances not expressly mentioned. For example in R. I. 49, if we are right in thinking that Συνναδεύς is omitted before οἰκῶν, Alexander Carici may be the same person as Alexander Carici Illae, St. 373, 21. The latter was living in the house of his grandfather and was known as "Alexander . . . of Illas," whereas Alexander Carici was known as "Alexander of Caricus," because his grandfather was dead now and he lived in his father's household (*cf.* pp. 100, 300). Thus the priority of St.

373 is maintained, even if the identity of person be admitted in this case ; and the general chronological principle would stand that the persons mentioned in St. 373 f. are mostly a generation older than those of R. I., and where identical are youthful while in R. I. they are elderly.

The interval between the two groups must be less than fifty years, and probably not more than twenty-five or thirty. That there was a considerable interval seems to follow from the number of fathers in the first group whose sons appear in the second.

In first publishing R. I., I specified the date about A.D. 225, arguing that it contained names taken from Pescennius Niger (l. 113), from Septimius Severus (ll. 48, 56), and from Marcia (l. 14), first wife of Severus, honoured with statues after his accession ; and I then made the happy guess that Marsia was a station on the Roman road half-way between Apollonia and Antioch, *i.e.*, near the north-east end of the Limnai (confirmed now, see note above on R. I. 16) ; that Lucius was the commonest Roman name ; and finally that Aur., used as *praenomen* by almost all contributors and by very few of their fathers, marked out the generation which was living in A.D. 211-217.* This reasoning is confirmed by subsequent discovery, except in one respect : the expression Αὐρ. Λούκιος Καρικοῦ was wrongly taken as implying that Caricus had not the *praenomen*. It is now known that he was Αὐρ. Καρικός (note above on R. I. 34). Thus the reasoning only proved that the inscriptions were not earlier than A.D. 211.

The date of R. I. is now pushed lower down. It is a generation later than St. 373-4 ; and they are at earliest about A.D. 211-230. But other considerations forbid us to go down very late. There is a total absence of names marking the period towards A.D. 300. The

* This observation about the use of Aur. as *praenomen* was, I believe, used there for the first time as a proof of date. It is now abundantly justified ; yet quite a number of writers since have stated it wrongly. The use of Aurelius as a *nomen* implies only a date after the middle of the second century ; it is only the strictly non-Latin and incorrect use as *praenomen* that proves the date after 211.

names even in the latest inscriptions are of an earlier type. The names Flavius and Valerius do not occur as they were used in that later period ; for Φλ. in St. 373, 11 (which approximates to the later type) is in my copy Φο . . . and T. Flavius Asklepiades, R. IV. 3, is of the type of the old Flavian dynasty, a hereditary name in the family.

A fair mean date for the two groups would be : St. 373-4 about 215-225, say 218 A.D. and R. I., III., etc., about 245-255. This explains the vast number of entries in R. I. : it belongs to the pagan revival of the reign of Decius, and its probable date is 250-1 A.D. R. I. is not of Diocletian's time (l. 1, single Emperor). The later group is mostly at Ganzaia, the earlier at Sagoue.

St. 375 is difficult to date. Aur. Chariton, 18, occurs also St. 373, 23 ; 374, 22. This would place it in the earliest group. But Aur. Domnion, 8, occurs in R. IV. 14, and perhaps in St. 372, 5, while Socrates, 9, and Zoticus, 10, probably occur in R. IV. 9, 1. It is therefore practically certain that St. 375 and R. IV. are contemporaneous. But R. IV. 8, Appas son of Appas might be the same as St. 376, 34 : now probably St. 376 is one of the latest lists. On the other hand Appas is a very common name, and Appas son of Appas occurs in 373, 43 and 374, 47, also perhaps in 373, 42 (but *cf.* 374, 46). Therefore St. 375 and R. IV. belong to the first group ; and St. 372 may be part of the heading of either 373 or 374.

## VIII. ECONOMICS.

The whole question of the relation between the Anatolian village and the Hellenic city is raised by a formula that often occurs in the lists, as an example of which we may take the phrase *Συνναδεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν Κανδρουκώμῃ.*

When I first began to study the social system revealed in R. I., I interpreted this phrase, "a citizen of Synnada who has settled in the village Kandroukome". But the late Prof. G. Hirschfeld, in his

review of Prof. Sterrett's *Wolfe Expedition*, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1888, p. 587, proposed a different and tempting interpretation, *viz.*, that Kandroukome was one of the villages in the territory of Synnada, and that the person mentioned with this phrase was ranked both by his city and by his village. In *Histor. Geogr.*, p. 411, I stated that I abandoned my view and was "indebted to Hirschfeld's paper for full comprehension of the facts". This latter interpretation, however, led to no further progress: nothing came from it: it did not illustrate, and was not illustrated by further discoveries. Experience shows that an excellent test of a theory lies in its opening up the path of progress, and in its power of illuminating other facts subsequently observed.

After some years, therefore, I was driven back to my original opinion. Usage is entirely on that side. οἰκῶν ἐν is the Attic formula for metics and freedmen resident in a deme: * it is commonly used in the inscriptions of Asia Minor to denote resident strangers, *e.g.*, Ἐπίγονος [Μεν]δαῖος οἰκῶν ἐν Μ[υτι]λήνῃ (Paton, *Inscrip. Gr. Ins. Lesbi Nesi Tenedi*, 409), Ἀρτέμων δὶς Εὐκαρπεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ (*Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, ii., p. 471, No. 310). This view seems proved in the present case by the fact that persons of this class appear as Brabeutai † of the village union, which seems to imply that those citizens of Greek cities had abandoned their citizenship and taken up residence in one of the villages whence the association drew its members. In other words, they went back from Hellenism to Orientalism and the "village system".

We are, therefore, face to face with a remarkable social phenomenon. Persons, who had been citizens of Hellenised cities like Synnada, were going back to the land, settling in villages, and reverting to Orientalism during the third century. I have frequently argued that this reversion occurred extensively during the third and later centuries, that Hellenism died out, and that the Oriental spirit revived. In Miss Ramsay's paper at the beginning of the present volume, the effect on art is exemplified. In the Tekmoreian

* *Cf. e.g.*, Todd in *Annual Brit. Sch. Ath.*, vii., 198. † See § ii.

inscriptions we see the individual citizens of Hellenised Phrygian cities abandoning their cities and settling in the Anatolian villages, where the old Anatolian social system prevailed, and where such Hellenic ideas as citizenship and municipal duties and powers had never taken root.

It can hardly be by accident that so many citizens of the neighbouring cities settled in these rural villages during the third century. Such a change of domicile from Greek educated surroundings to native, non-Hellenic, and Oriental circumstances is quite out of keeping with the earlier Greek or Roman spirit. It seems to spring from two causes.

The first cause was the revivification of the old Oriental character in the eastern Provinces: the native spirit had lain dormant during the spread of Hellenic education, but it began already during the second century to recover strength; and when the Eastern Provinces grew more and important in the Empire and steadily forced the centre of gravity towards the East, till at last Constantinople became the capital, they were not Greek lands but Oriental, or at least informed with a new mixed character uniting Greek, Roman, and above all Oriental elements.

Secondly, the conditions of life on the Imperial estates were more attractive than in the cities. The burdens imposed on the citizens, almost solely on the well-to-do among them, became crushing, as time went on and the old free city-system was transformed into the Byzantine system. The Tekmoreian inscriptions seem to show the beginnings of the later system.

The double designation by city and by village of the persons just described gives some good examples of the method of expressing the alternative designation. Either designation was in itself complete, and they were really mutually exclusive; a Greek citizen could not strictly be or become a villager; but yet in practice the change was being made. The following variations of expression are therefore interesting; some are more or less restored; but the restorations seem convincing:—

Αὐρ. Σωκράτης β΄ Κουσεανός—St. 375, 9.

Αὐρ. Σωκράτης [Σωκράτους Κουσεα]νὸς ὁ καὶ Συνναδεύς—R. IV. 10.

Αὐρ. Ὀρέστης Ἀνδρωνος Εὐμενεὺς ὁ καὶ Ὁλμιανός—St. 373, 24; 379, 1; R. III. 15.

Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Κωκούτας * Ἑρμοκωμή[της] Συνναδεύς—St. 375, 10.

Αὐρ.] Ζωτικο[ῦ Κωκούτας * Συνναδέως] οἰκοῦντο[ς ἐν Ἑρμοκώμῃ —R. IV. 1, 2.

Αὐρ.] Ἰοῦλις Κα[ρικοῦ Ἰου]λιεὺς (δην.) χα΄—St. 374, 21.

Αὐ]ρ. Ἰούλιος Καρικοῦ Ἰουλιεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν [————]—St. 373, 22.

The meaning of ὁ καί, denoting alternative names, each of which has a justification in different circumstances, though they are strictly speaking inconsistent with one another, is discussed in *Classical Review*, 1898, pp. 337 f.: it is especially common in the cases of names belonging to two different languages, as when a Syrian or Phrygian has a native name among his own people, and a Roman or a Greek name in Roman or Greek social and political relations. Strictly the characters and names, Phrygian and Greek or Roman, are inconsistent with each other: the same man cannot be both, but he may be either in the appropriate surroundings.

## IX. ZEUS EURYDAMENOS.

27. (R. 1887). At Genj-Ali (*i.e.* Young-Man-Ali, a name often misrepresented by modern travellers as Yenidjé), on the north-west corner of the Limnai.

Αὐρ. Μεννέας Τιμοθεου Ναραζιτηνὸς
ἱερεὺς Διὸς Εὐρυδαμηνοῦ καὶ ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ
Αὐρ. Τροφίμ[η
πρώταυλος Διὸς Οὐρυδαμηνοῦ, ζῶτες.

* On this genitive ending, see above. The accent of this non-Greek name is quite uncertain: perhaps Κωκουτᾶς would be better.

It was usual that the wife of the priest should be the leading female official in the service of the god : a married pair were regularly archiereus and archiereia : so here Trophime was the leading flute-player. The mention of the flute shows that the god was not the Hellenic Zeus, but a Phrygian deity, an outwardly Grecised form of the great god of this district, Men Askaénos, on whom see § xii. The importance of music generally, and of the flute and cymbals in particular, in old Phrygian ritual, is well known. Societies of Hymnodoi, etc., who danced to music (like the modern Mevlevi dervishes, whose chief centre is Iconium and whose music is of flutes and cymbals) were found at all the old religious centres (*Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, ii., pp. 359, 630).

In form the strange epithet Εὐρυδαμηνός looks like a local epithet, Zeus of Eurydama ; but more probably this is mere external appearance, and the word is really a compound name, the second part being the name of Men, and the first being some Phrygian word. This compound name is so Grecised as to suggest the meaning "widely conquering" ; but that is only a false appearance. The form Οὐρυδαμηνός in l. 3 is probably a real variant, nearer the original Phrygian compound name of Men, and not a mere error of engraver. The name Εὐρυβάλινδος, applied to Dionysos, suits a derivation from εὐρύς, for Βαλήν in Phrygian meant "king," and the Thracians called Dionysos βάλιν. See Anderson in *J.H.S.*, 1898, p. 96, where he publishes a fragment of three words mentioning Zeus Eurydamenos. The same deity occurs in R. III. 12 f., and in Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, No. 589, where ἱερεὺς Διὸς Εὐ[ρυδαμηνοῦ] must be restored.*

The form ζῶτες is noteworthy : there is great variety in the use

* τὸ ἄγαλμ[α θεοῦ ?] Νεικάτορος in the end of this inscription must probably be a statue of Seleucus Nicator ; and the existence of a cult of Nicator beside Apollonia may be taken as a proof that the city was founded by him and not (as Prof. G. Hirschfeld argues, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1888, p. 592) by one of the Pergamenian kings (Eumenes II.).

or omission of *ν* before dentals in the inscriptions of Asia Minor outside of the thoroughly Hellenic cities of the west coast.

The name Genj-Ali is probably a Turkish modification of the ancient Banboule, revealed by a Christian inscription of Tymandos.

28. (Sterrett, *Wolfe Exp.*, No. 564, recopied by me in 1905) : my copy gives the first line complete.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ἀρτέμων Καλλί- | ν] Κενηνοῦ τῇ συβίῳ αὐ(τοῦ) |
| ων]ος ἐποίησα τὸ κ- | χάριν μνήμης μη- |
| οιμητῆριν Αὐρ. Ἰο- | τρὸς Αὐρ. Κυρίας Μ- |
| υ]λιανῇ Αὐξάνοντ- | ωροδόμνου Βα- |
| ο]ς Γλαυκου Μαρκο- | νβουληνῆς |

In the rest it generally confirms Prof. Sterrett. Sterrett restores in l. 6 Ἀ]κενηνοῦ, quoting τόπου Ἀκενᾶ in his No. 504 to illustrate the ethnic, but in that fragmentary text Ἀκενᾶ is a personal not a local name : restore [ἐξουσία ἔστε] τόπου Ἀκενᾶ, " Akenas shall have the privilege of the burial-place ". I thought that the ethnic here was probably Κενηνοῦ : there seemed no space for a lost A. The very suspicious name ΚΛЄΛΗΝΟ gap C in St. 375, 17 may be an engraver's error for ΚЄΝΗΝΟC.

## X. TOPOGRAPHY.

The great number of local names mentioned in these inscriptions may be divided into (I.) cities and (II.) villages. The latter, practically, include all places which are not in the first class. The first class is determined by knowledge obtained from other sources, especially the list of cities coining money and the list of the earlier bishoprics. The later bishoprics, as might be expected, show much less agreement with the names in the Tekmoreian inscriptions. The second class may again be subdivided (i.) those about which something can be learned from other sources ; (ii.) those of which nothing can be gathered beyond the fact that they are mentioned in these lists.

(i.) Places known as cities coining money and as bishoprics.

Adada in the Pisidian mountains.

Anpelada, *i.e.*, Amblada.

Antiocheia : its citizens also villagers, St. 373, 11 ; 376, 2.

Apollonia.

Dabenai (no coins).

Eumeneia : its citizens become villagers.

Julia in Paroreios (the bishopric Ipsos). See Eumeneia.

Kinnaborion (no coins).

Limenia, the bishopric Limnai (no coins).

Lykaones, see class ii.

Malos : placed at Malekalessi in the Pisidian mountains (R. in *Annual Brit. Sch. Athens*, 1903, p. 259) : the geographical expression πρὸς Χῶμα Σακηνόν, used in the inscriptions is obscure ; it is evidently intended to distinguish this from the Cilician Mallos. Also, the term Καχέιτης Μαληνός is obscure.

Metropolis.

Papa, *i.e.*, Pappa, thirty-five miles west of Iconium on the road to Antioch, St. 375, 14, 16.

Synnada. See Eumeneia.

Tenia, Atenia in the early *Notitiae*, probably at the north-west end of Bey-Sheher Lake (Karalis) : see R. in *Annual Brit. Sch. Athens*, 1903, p. 253 (no coins).

Tityassos, assuming that Tyita or Teuita is a variant of Titya, with the termination -sso dropped.

These are the cities immediately adjoining the Estate, lying all round it. Almost all the cities of this large district are mentioned except Lysias, which seems here absorbed in Oinia, *i.e.*, Oinan-Ova, the native name of the valley where Lysias was situated (R. in *Cit. and Bish. of Phr.*, ii., p. 755), 2 Parlais, 3-5 Misthia, Vasada, Zorzila, all three rather more distant and difficult of access (none coined money), 6-7 Neapolis (no coins), Anaboura (no coins), 8 Apameia.

PART OF PISIDIA, LYCAONIA AND PHRYGIA.

Besides these sixteen there are two, Archelais and Attaleia, which are distant cities, one in Cappadocia, one on the Pamphylian coast or in Lydia (it is doubtful which).

(ii.) The following are known to have been villages, not ranking as cities, nor coining money, nor seats of bishoprics, but places that retained the old Anatolian character. In this class may be reckoned all those places which are named as the second homes of persons who migrated from cities to settle in villages (see § vii.). We may fairly assume that the villages in which they settled were situated on the Antiochian estates. This applies to Oborai, Esaboureiai, Algiza, Algonia, Andiai, Astibia (or Astibria, see below), etc.

Akroênos, ethnic in form, the modern fortress Afion-Kara-Hissar, two miles north-west of the city Prymnessos (R. in *Mitth. Hist. Ath.*, 1882, p. 141) : *cf.* Ganzaênos, Imaênos, Poimanênon.

Algiza, the name occurs as Argiza, bishopric in Asia, and Algiza in Hellespontus (*Histor. Geogr.*, p. 107) ; but here Algiza must be a village nearer the Tekmoreian centre.

Algounia, now Ilghin, in Paroreios Phrygia, in the territory of Tyriaion.

Anagos, or Olimanaros, a village near the Tekmoreian centre.

Andiai (St. 373, 32 and R. III.), a village not remote from the Tekmoreian centre.

Arasiza, modern Aris, or Aghris (silent gh) near Siniandos in the Orondian territory.

Askara, modern Uskeles, village south of Lake Karalis.

Astibia may be regarded as one of the numerous engraver's faults for Astibria,* containing the well-known Thraco-Phrygian word Bria, town. The same town or village can now be restored with confidence in St. 380, 13 f., Ἀρτέμιδι Σατιπ[ρ]ειζηνῇ. Now in *Cities and Bish.*, ii., pp. 382, 616, the various forms which Bria and

* My copy has ACTI BIA, with note "room for letter between I and B, but no trace". The impression made by Callander also shows no trace in the gap. The reading on the stone therefore may have been Astirbia.

Brianus took in Phrygian are discussed, and it is shown that the city Bria of Phrygia was otherwise called Berga (modern Burgas), and that the ethnic Preizenos (for Πρεγηνός) is used in an inscription, Berianus in a Byzantine document. This epithet of Artemis is therefore local, formed from the town Satibria. Whether Satibria or Astibria is more correct cannot be determined : they were doubtless both used.

Attea, *i.e.*, Attaia, the villages of Attes or Attis, doubtless a common name (R. in *Cit. and Bish.*, ii., p. 132), which cannot here be taken as the Lydian town.

Azara or Ezara, modern Azari-Keui, east of Philomelium (on the railway), a village of the Imperial estate Dipotamon or Mesanakta.

Dao-kome, Jackal-village (Phr. δαος = θώς), was not far from Kökuler, a village about one hour from Gondane near the road to Antioch (and about half an hour from Sagoue) as appears from the following :—

29. (R. 1886). Kökuler. St. 364 correctly.

| | |
|---|---|
| Γαίου. | σωνία ἡ καὶ Ἀμ- |
| | μία τέκνῳ γ[λυ- |
| Τίτος Φλάυιος | κυτάτῳ μνή- |
| Ἀσκληπιάδης | μης |
| κὲ Κρισπίνη Κισ- | χά]ριν |

The placing of the child's name apart as a superscription, thus giving it more prominence, is rare in the epitaphs of this country. The arrangement is more common in honorary inscriptions on the base of statues, *e.g.*, *Am. J. Arch.*, 1888, p. 283 (Pogla), Marquardt, *Privatalt.*, p. 27, Sterrett, *Wolfe Exp.*, No. 419 (Adada, restore gen. or dat. here, according to regular practice). T. Flavius Asklepiades is mentioned also in R. IV. 3 : he was a native of [Synnada?], who had settled in Dao-kome.

Eireumenia, *i.e.* Ireumenia. This may be taken perhaps as a form of Limenia, with R. for L.

Esaboureiai, a village not remote from the Tekmoreian centre. See also Oborai.

Esouakome : Soua, either the village Soa on the Imperial estate of Tembrion, or the Pamphylo-Pisidian bishopric Isba, *i.e.* Isoua.

Ganzaia (the ethnic Ganzaénos gives the modern name Gondane), one of the Tekmoreian centres. See also Koundoia.

Giza or Gisza (Carian gissa, stone), a village east of Philomelion (Anderson in *J.H.S.*, 1898, p. 113), probably the modern Kolu-Kissa, on the road direct from Philomelion to Psebila and Archelais.

Gordiou-Kome can hardly be the village mentioned by Strabo, p. 574, who says it was renamed Juliopolis by Cleon, afterwards priest of Zeus Abrettenos and priest-dynast at Comana Pontica in the time of Antony and Augustus : the name Juliopolis often occurs later. There were probably more villages than one of this name.

Hermo-Kome, perhaps in Tchul-Ovasi (Campus Metropolitanus), see Anderson in *J.H.S.*, 1898, p. 342.

Holmoi, village on the Great Eastern Highway or Trade-route, between Metropolis and Julia-Ipsos (Strabo, p. 663).

Imaion or Imaia (ethnic Ἰμαηνός), the modern Imen on the west borders of the hilly Orondian country. *Cf.* Ganzaia, Akroênos and Poimanenon (*Histor. Geogr. As. Min.*, p. 158). Amaion (Αμαηνός) R. I. is doubtless a variant of Imaion. It is the village of the goddess Ma, with prothetic vowel Ama or Ima.

[Kab]orkoi, restored in St. 383, 6 : a rude tribe on the head stream of the Sangarios.

Kaloue, called Kaloe and Koloe in *Not. Episc.*, a large village in the upper Cayster valley, now Kelas. See Sagoue.

Kandrou-kome, modern Genlije (south-east from Kirili Tenia), a village on the Antiochian estates. The ethnic Καvδριανός R. III. perhaps belongs to Kandroukome.

Karbokome : see above, pp. 309 f., 351.

Kasonia, a village near Antiochia, St. 376, 2.

Katiena, a village near Antiochia, St. 373, 11.

Koumalettos, a village not remote from the Tekmoreian centre.

Koundoza or Koundozia, a remarkable name (R. I. 70, R. III.

20), which can hardly be separated from Ganzaia (R. I. 47). The equivalence of Δ and Z in Anatolian names in certain cases is well established, as in Nazianzos-Nadiandos, Arianzos-Ariandos,* the variation in vowel between A or E and O or OU is also frequent, as in Halala-Loulon, Atroa-Otroia-Otryai, Attalos-Ottalos, Tataiou-Tottaiou, Tatas-Tottes, etc. :† the variation between surd and sonant in the first letter is due to the rough pronunciation (*παχείᾳ τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ ὡς Καππαδόκαις συνηθές* was equally true of the Pisidians), and is exemplified in the modern pronunciation of many ancient names. There remains only the variation of termination -ia in one case, -za or -zia in the other, which disappears when we consider that Z here is an attempt to represent in Greek the Anatolian sound Y (yod).

Kousea, a village not remote from the Tekmoreian centre.

Laptokome, perhaps the same as Apakome of Galatia (see *Histor. Geogr. of As. Min.*, p. 246).

Latmos may perhaps be a village on the Carian mount Latmos, though names from the Aegean region hardly occur in the Tekmoreian lists. This name depends on the doubtful restoration Μειλα [Λά]τμεος in R. I.

Limenia must, evidently, be connected with and situated on the Limnai. It may be identified with the bishopric Limnai, and has therefore been given under class (I).

Lykaones the Inner, so distinguished from the people of the country Lykaonia. This people probably inhabited the district called Cutchuk-Sitchanli-Ova, a mountain glen and region, south-west from Afion-Kara-Hissar : see *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, ii., pp. 664, 694. They formed a bishopric, but struck no coins.

Lykio-kome, must probably be connected with the Lycians who along with Thracians formed the body of coloni settled by Seleucus Nicator in Apollonia. Apollonia is the only one of the Greek

* *Histor. Geogr. of As. Min.*, p. 285 ; *Classical Review*, 1905, p. 370.

† *Histor. Geogr.*, pp. 189, 353, 437.

garrison-cities in Asia Minor, where the new settlers were called *coloni;* and this points to something peculiar and distinctive in the constitution of the city. If the Lycians had their own distinct village and lands, the reason why they were called *coloni* in inscriptions and coins would be evident.

Mamouta or Mamotta (?), village of Mama, a reduplicated name of the goddess Ma: compare Adramytta from the personal name (divine?) Adramys.

Mandra, "sheepfold," was probably a common village-name. The one which is meant here can hardly be the modern Mandra, two hours north-west from Surmene (near the Mandri Fontes mentioned in Livy's account of the marsh of Manlius Valso, xxxviii. 16). It is more probably a village near the Tekmoreian centre.

Marsia, a village near Karbokome at the north-west end of the Limnai (see § vii., note on R. I. 16). On the situation as half-way station on the road from Apollonia to Antioch, see p. 355.

Misylos, placed by G. Hirchfeld (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1888, p. 590) with great probability among the Pisidian mountains near Tymbriada.

Mordion, may probably be connected with Apollonia (which Stephanus says was originally called Mordiaion), and regarded as a village in its territory.

Neidos (R. I. 49), a village not remote from the Tekmoreian centre. The ethnic occurs as Νειδηνός R. I. 34, Νειδεηνός St. 374, 9, and Νειδειανός St. 375, 22.

Oborai (St. 373, 2; 376, 9), a village not remote from the Tekmoreian centre.

Oikea may perhaps be the same as Oikokome. Oikea is probably Vicus, a village of the Seiblian territory, about twelve miles north-west from Apameia-Kelainai, whose very name marks it as part of an Imperial estate: see *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, i., p. 225.* It is, however, possible that Oikokome here means the village called

* An error, made there about Justinianopolis, is corrected in vol. ii., pp. 578, 787.

Oikokome and Oinokome in the *Notitiae Episc.*, situated on the Imperial estates near Motella (*Histor. Geogr.*, p. 179 ; *Cities and Bish.*, ii., p. 578 f.) : these Motellene estates (unnoticed in *Cities and Bish.*, i., chap. iv.) deserve more thorough examination. It seems possible that Ekkea (St. 374, 6) may be an error for Oikea.

Oinia, the village whose name remains in Oinan-Ova, the mountain-valley north from the Limnai, and north-east from Metropolis, on the northern skirts of Kara-Kush-Dagh. Lysias was situated in this valley ; and it is noteworthy that the Hellenic city (which coined money and was a bishopric) never occurs in the Tekmoreian lists, while Oinia is often mentioned—a clear proof that it was the non-Hellenic rustics with some de-Hellenised natives of cities who formed the Tekmoreian Association. It appears also in the variants Oeinia (with *o* or *ω*), Oueinia, and Oounia (*cf.* Koundoia).

Oitinia, ethnic Οἰτινιάθης R. I. 119 (with aspiration * of T in the termination). Perhaps Oitonia is a variant of Oitinia : compare Koundoia ; but [T]o[u]tonia is perhaps a better reading, R. I. 72. Strictly these names belong to class (iii.).

Olimanaros, better restoration in St. 373, 1 : see Anagos.

Olympokome, the name suggests that there was a Mount Olympus not far from the Limnai and Antioch, either the Kara-Kush-Dagh, or the hills which divide the Anthios valley and Antioch from the valley in which are situated the northern half of the Limnai (*i.e.*, Hovian-Göl) and the river which flows from the east and north-east into it through the Tchybritzi-Kleisoura, or the mighty Sultan-Dagh. This suggestion is confirmed by the story of St. George Limniota, a hermit, who was probably connected with the Limnai. He suffered about A.D. 735 under Leo the Isaurian on 24th August (*Act. Sanct.*, p. 842). He was a hermit who made his ascetic abode on Mount Olympus, presumably beside the Limnai, from which he derived his

* Variation between sharp surds and aspirates is common in Phrygian inscription : *π* and *φ*, *θ* and *τ*, interchange.

name. Olympokome must probably be close to Pidra and Raita, as persons named Loukrêtios, with praenomen placed after nomen, live at all three (R. I. 26, 29, 80) : the fathers Lucius and Quintus were probably brothers, and all three villages or farm-steadings (§ xi.) belonged to the Antiochian estates.

Peidra or Pidra : see Olympokome. It is mentioned as a village of the Anatolic Theme.

Peisda or Peisdia is probably the modern Pissa or Bissa on the hills that slope down to the valley of Apollonia (Kara-Arslau-Ova) from the north. Peisza would be another form practically equivalent (see Koundoia), and Peisza stands to Pissa as Gisza to Gissa (Kolu-Kisa).

Peskenia, Pesenia (R. I. 106, a slip of engraver) or Peskeinia was a village situated on the road leading east from Philomelion in the great Imperial estates which included Ezara, Gisza, Dipotamon, etc. : see § vii., note on R. III. 11, and Anderson, *J.H.S.*, 1898, p. 119.

Piliganon or Peliganon, a village not remote from the Tekmoreian centre. The name is old Anatolian. Pelekas is mentioned as a mountain on the Phrygian and Mysian frontier by Polybius, v., 77.*

Ptagia, the village of Meter Ipta, a Phrygian or Maeonian goddess, doubtless a mere form of Cybele or the Anatolian Artemis, mentioned in a dedication in the Katakekaumene (near Koula).

Raita. See Olympokome.

Rimenianta (neuter plural) or Rimenias : compare Ampelada-Ampelas, Tymbriada-Tymbrias. It may be suspected that R is here a rough pronunciation of L [*cf.* Plouristra-Proureistra class (ii.)], and that Limenias -antos was a place on the Limnai, the same as Limenia, *q.v.*

* I cannot agree with M. Radet's assignment of Pelekas to the country near Apameia, *Revue des Etudes Anc.*, 1896, p. 14. Apia, which is mentioned by Polybius near Pelekas, is the city of North Phrygia. On the historical relation see *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, ii., 630. Pelekanon Bith., *Hist. Geogr.*, p. 185.

Sagoue, modern Saghir, one of the chief centres of the Tekmoreian Association, two hours north of Antioch. For the form *cf.* Lagbe or Lagoe (*i.e.* Lagoue) in Western Pisidia, Aragoue in North Phrygia (*J.H.S.*, 1897, p. 421), Kaloue (*q.v.*).

Septoumana, perhaps named after Septimius (or Septumius) Severus : in that case it may be looked for on his line of march towards Cilicia, during the war against Pescennius Niger, somewhere in the district Paroreios, about Philomelion or Julia or Tyriaion.

Strouma, " the stream-town," the same name as Roma (Stroma).

Tataion : it is proved in *Histor. Geogr.*, pp. 240 f., 182, 189,* that Tataion and Tottaion are interchangeable forms. Now Tottaion was the second of the two chief places on the estate of Tembrion. We therefore connect the ethnic Ταταηνός in the Tekmoreian lists with Tottaion. Tataion is a derivative from Tatas, a common Phrygian personal name with by-form Tottes. The village name may probably be restored in the following inscription.

30. At Altyntash (R. 1881 and 1884) :† the letters are faint and worn : on an altar.

ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Κυ-
ρίου Ἀντωνείνο[υ
τ]ύχης κὲ νείκης κὲ
ἐ]ωνίου διαμο-
νῆς κὲ τῆς κώμης [Τ-
άτου, Νάνα σύν-
βιος Μενεκλέος
Μητρὶ Κικλέᾳ εὐχή[ν

In Byzantine time Tataioukome was shortened into Taioukome, corrupted in the later *Notitiae Episcopatuum* into Gaioukome. This suggestion, which Mr. Anderson formerly accepted, he has now discarded (see p. 193 of this volume), and prefers to think that Trikomia was corrupted into Gaioukomia, a change which seems to me improbable. Probably Tataioukome was originally a double bishopric including Soa, the large neighbouring village. Later, they were divided, Spore and Taioukome.

Trouglettia or Triglettia may be the name which in later time was corrupted into Tzybritzi, the name of the Kleisoura in which the

* See Anderson above, p. 187. † The copies agree exactly.

great army of Manuel Comnenus was destroyed by the Turks : see this volume, p. 236. The Kleisoura leads up from the north-east end of the Limnai to Ganzaia, and is traversed by the road from the west to Antioch.

Tyrsa [or Thyrsa, compare Oitinia, Tettha class (ii.)] : the ethnic Tyrsênos shows the name of the Tyrrhenians on the soil of Anatolia.

Tlos, ethnic Τλουηνός. Mr. Arkwright quotes Stephanus, ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη Τλὼς πόλις Πισιδίας.

Totonia, perhaps read [T]o[υ]τωνιάτης in R. I. 72 ; Toutonia or Totonia would be the meeting place of the Touta or people : on this Phrygian word, now found in the Phrygian inscriptions, see the "Late Phrygian Inscriptions" in *Jahreshefte d. Oest. Inst.*, 1905, p. 97 (Beiblatt). See above, p. 253.

(iii.) Villages otherwise unknown : many of these were probably on the Antiochian estates.

Aiza, Arkasta, Barouklia, Boalia, Diatora, Chailiara, Doudada, Ekkea?, Gardibia (-dybia), Grekea (perhaps Trekea), Kakoza, Kamarga, Karma or Kharma, Karsenda, Kelounia, Kerasos or Kerasia,* Klantea, Klela, Kleustia, Knouteina, Kousea, Kradra, Kranosaga,† Ktimena or Khthimena, Lamisos, Lanka or Lankea, Lapeistra Lapistra or Laphystra, Marallis or Marallita, Mergnia, Mikkonia, Monokleros, Mouza, Nazoula, Neophytos, Oitinia or Oitonia [see class (ii.)], Olimanaros,‡ Padia, Pagada, Patea, Perokia, Polymarga, Plouristra or Proureistra, Pserkiokome, Rekokome, Renbea, Rokka (a blank space before R may have contained an initial letter, of which I could see no trace : blank spaces are common in these badly engraved inscriptions), Simikka or Simmikka, Sourbia, Strouma [see class (ii.)], Talimeta, Tettha or Thettha, Teuita Tyita Tyta or Tita [probably Tityassos class (i.)], Tyrsa or Thyrsa, Tôtônia (see class ii.).

* We cannot think of Kerasos in Pontus.

† I at first took Κραvος as personal name, and Aga (Ἀγηνός) as the village name ; but St. is probably right in preferring the long name for the village.

‡ Falls in class ii., near the Tekmoreian centre, St. 373, 1 ; 374, 11 ; R. III. 8.

## XI. PROPERTY AND FAMILY RIGHTS.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the great majority of the villages in classes ii. and iii. were on the Antiochian estates. Yet they do not exhaust the list of places on those estates. We know from other sources only a very few of these places, and of these so known several do not occur in the Tekmoreian lists, *e.g.*, Kena, Tymandos, Banboula. Every scrap of a list contains new names; and, if a fresh list of 100 names were discovered, probably 60 of those would be new. The population must have been large; and the total of their subscriptions is a considerable sum in itself, and indicates a large amount of wealth and high standard of comfort in the community.

The value of the denarius had much diminished in the third century; but it is impossible to state exactly the variation about the time of these inscriptions. About A.D. 290–300 the denarius was a little less than a farthing, but about A.D. 220 it was much more, and about A.D. 200 it was worth between 3d. and 4d. in amount of metal: the purchasing value is a different matter. The largest subscription mentioned is 6000 denarii, which at the lowest estimate represents £6 stg., a very good sum for a donor on such an occasion. At the present day it would usually be impossible to find change for a coin, value under four shillings, by combining the whole monetary resources of a large village. The difference gives a fair idea of the comparative wealth of the country in the third and nineteenth centuries.

This large number of local names can hardly be supposed all to designate separate villages of the same rank. Some belong to towns or large villages like Holmoi, Tenia, and Lykiokome (if the suggestion on p. 366 is correct). Some belong to small villages. But it seems indubitable that a considerable number denote farm-steadings, each the home of a family of some wealth, residing on its hereditary holding. The relation of these country families to the Imperial lord of the manor (represented by his Procurator, p. 313)

would be an interesting subject ; and evidence may be found when it is sought for.

Marsia, beside Karbokome (pp. 351-355), is perhaps an example of such a farm near a village, just as the family of Gregory Nyssenus and Basil possessed an estate and house and farm-steading Arianzos, at the village Karbala, town Nazianzos.* Basil might be designated of Karbala or Arianzos or Nazianzos, as the Tekmoreian Demetrios is sometimes designated of Marsia, sometimes of Karbokome.

The plan of those farm-steadings has been described and their origin investigated in *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii., p. 419. They were Tetrapyrgia, quadrangular buildings, probably (from the name) with a tower at each corner, enclosing an open space in the middle. Thus they were suited for defence, and military operations were needed to reduce them.† They imply a conquering caste of landholders and a conquered older population, and their origin probably goes back to the time when the immigrant Phrygians from Europe settled among the old Anatolian people of the god's estates, and made themselves the lords of property, adapting themselves to the old theocracy in a way now quite unknown.

From this class of landed families were drawn the local contractors, misthotai, alluded to on p. 311 f., in accordance with Rostowzew's brilliant and epoch-making exposition. From the same class were drawn many of the leading figures in early church history, as is pointed out in the *Expositor*, September, 1906, p. 281. In those large households the head of the family lived as a sort of patriarch with his sons and his sons' wives, after the fashion alluded to several times in this volume.‡ Such a head is likely to have exercised some considerable authority in his family. It is a question whether this authority ever took the form of a *patria potestas* similar to the Roman (which was quite foreign to Greek custom). Probably that Roman custom was alien to the Anatolian social system ; the development

* *Histor. Geogr.*, p. 285. † Plutarch, *Eum.*, 8 ; *Cities and Bish.*, *l.c.*

‡ See pp. 71, 121, 146 n., 150.

of such authority of the father out of the old Anatolian custom, which gave power to the mother and favoured inheritance in the female line, seems impossible. That among the Galatian tribes the power of the father over his children included even the right of putting them to death, is recorded by the Roman lawyer Gaius, i., 55, who says that such extension of the *patria potestas* was confined to Roman and Galatian law. Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, vi., 19, mentions that the same custom existed among the Gaulish tribes ; and therefore I have elsewhere * drawn the inference that this was the custom of the Gaulish settlers in Galatia, not of the Phrygian people among whom they settled as a conquering caste. The inference seems inevitable ; and we must suppose that the father's authority in those large Phrygian households was not after the stern and absolute Roman custom, but of a mild and kindly type. The inscriptions, which in scores of cases enumerate the varied relationship of many members of the household to the deceased head and father, favour this view ; they suggest the mutual affection and individual rights of all members ; and they would hardly have taken their form under a system like the Roman. In some cases distant relatives, who can hardly be supposed to have been members of the household in its strictly patriarchal character, are mentioned among those who make the tomb ; and even friends or associates in a religious society † find a place in the list. Such persons were either not members of the household at all, or members of a household which was united only by ties of affection and goodwill and mutual usefulness. There could be no legal authority of a rigorous and absolute kind exercised by the head of the household over persons so distantly connected with him. Where sons-in-law are mentioned, they cannot have been members of a strict patriarchal household, unless they were also adopted sons (see p. 147).

* *Histor. Comm. on Galatians*, p. 131. The *patria potestas* in its extreme form was confirmed in Galatia by a rescript of Hadrian, which dates from the time when great part of Lycaonia had been separated from the Province Galatia.

† *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, ii., p. 470, No. 309. Such a society was doubtless a benefit and burial society (*collegium tenuiorum*).

## XII. THE DEITY AND THE PRIESTS.

These are mentioned much less frequently in the Tekmoreian than in the Ormelian inscriptions. A priest of Zeus Eurydamenos occurs once in R. III. ; a priest of Artemis-Diana once in Call. I. ; a priest as eponymous in a village-document at Karbokome, No. 1, p. 309 ; two dedications are made to Artemis, or Artemis of Satibria,* R. V., St. 380 ; an image of Artemis which stood in the pronaos (evidently of her temple) is spoken of in St. 370. There cannot be any doubt that Artemis is the deity of the people on these estates in their aspect as a religious association (*plebs collegii*). The invocation, "Great Artemis," which is here to be taken as a vocative,† occurs in R. I. 1 and perhaps St. 370, 1. She is called "the goddess," St. 370, 11, 380, 6, or "great (?) Artemis the goddess," R. V. 4. Besides her own chosen central home, she had secondary homes in various villages, as *e.g.* at Satibria. In her village homes she was the "Artemis of the village," *e.g.* Satipreizene. In her own home she was "the goddess Artemis" or "the goddess" simply. The eponymous priest was certainly priest of Artemis, as is clear from the comparison with Call. I. He retained some of the old authority over the goddess's people, and the retention was apparently reconciled with the Imperial rule by keeping the priesthood in the hands of Augustus's procurator.

This Artemis is a mere variety of the Phrygian Cybele. The priests Galli with the Archigallos at their head prove the practical identity for this individual case ; and it must be accepted as a universal and fundamental fact in any description of the religion of Phrygia. As at Ephesus, so on the Antiochian estates, the Parthenos Artemis was recognised in the paganised Church of the fifth century

* Or Astibria, § x., class ii.

† The vocative with nominative form need cause no difficulty in Phrygian Greek. See *Church in the Roman Empire before* A.D. 180, p. 138, on this invocation.

as the Virgin Mother of God ; and her worship still draws Christian devotees once a year to her shrine in a cave on the margin of Hoiran lake in the base of the ridge of mountains which almost divides Hoiran from Egerdir lake.* A careful examination of the localities is much to be desired : it might show whether this Christian shrine is at the same place as the shrine of Artemis, or (as is more probable) was a rival which supplanted and destroyed the pagan sanctuary.

What was the relation of this Artemis to Men Askaênos,† whom Strabo, p. 577, describes as the god of Antioch and original owner of the Antiochian estates? The worship of Men was the exoteric form in which the old ritual was maintained in the Græco-Roman colony of Antioch. There was a group of gods in the ritual, whose mutual relations expressed the life of nature and the continuousness of human life, and were set forth in the Mysteries to the initiate. Sometimes one, sometimes another of the divine group was selected in the exoteric form which Hellenism imposed on the native cult, when (as was inevitable and invariable) it adopted this cult as part of the religion of Antioch and of other Græco-Phrygian cities. Corresponding to the group of deities there was a college of priests (as is best seen on the Ormelian estates or at Pessinus) ; and different Greek or Anatolian names were in different cases adopted as suitable for the prominent deity, Men at Antioch, Zeus Eurydamenos at or near Tymandos, etc. In the Anatolian religion the goddess was the central figure ; but in the public cult of a Hellenic city the tendency was to give prominence to a male deity. In Antioch Men was also identified with the Greek Apollo and Dionysos, the Roman Aesculapius and Luna. The festival *dies festi lunae* ‡ is probably the birth-feast of

* Hoiran and Egerdir lakes together form the ancient Limnai, as G. Hirschfield first observed.

† I assume the emendation of Waddington in Strabo's text.

‡ *C.I.L.*, iii., 6829, *Acta SS. Trophimi*, etc., 19 Sept., p. 12.

Apollo (*γενέθλια Ἀπόλλωνος*). The high priest for life of the manifest god Dionysos must be the high priest for life of Men, and Aesculapius also had his *sacerdos perpetuus*.* A fund in Antioch, called *arca sanctuarii*, was probably devoted to the maintenance of this cult of Men-Dionysos (though Waddington considered that it was intended for that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, 1190, St. *W. E.*, 358, above p. 311).

* The high priesthood of Dionysos is mentioned in the inscription, *ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ βίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου θεοῦ Διονύσου*, St. *Ep. Journ.*, No. 139. In St. *l.c.*, 135, a restoration may be suggested [*ὁ δεῖνα υἱὸς Ἀννίας γυναικὸς πρώτης τῆς*] Κολονείας (*sic !*) *καὶ* Γ. Φλαΐου Βα[*ι*]*βιανοῦ ἱππότου Ῥωμαίων, ἀρχιερέων διὰ βίου τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ Διονύσου*: it is usual that husband and wife should be priest and priestess (above, p. 359 f.), but it is strange that the wife is mentioned first, unless the priestess was in some way more important: the exact restoration at the beginning is uncertain, but the general sense is clear.

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NOTES.

On p. 47, l. 12, read *αὐτόν τ*[*ε ἀντ'*.

On p. 121 (3), 3 and 6, small initials.

On p. 123, 6 and note, delete ][.

On p. 126, 7, delete ' after *ναοῖς*: *ibid.*, note to 4, read *ἦλθε*.

On p. 171, No. 55, l. 2, for ] read [ ; l. 4, read [*προγον* ; l. 5, read *εἰσενεχ-θ*[*ῆναι πλὴν*.

On p. 176, No. 68, l. 7 f., read [*νύνφη*] : *ibid.*, No. 69, l. 9, *R.* has *ἀμοιβῇ*, and puts *τελεσ-* in this line.

*Ibid.*, No. 69, l. 6, read *ἐὴ*.

On p. 215, l. 4 from bottom, delete comma before " in ".

On p. 325, l. 86 : The Isaurian fem. name Ba also appears in Pisidian as Oa, *B.C.H.*, 1899, p. 179 (where it should be accented Ὀά or perhaps Ὀᾶ, not Ὄα). The masc. is Βᾶς, *l.c.*, p. 182. Pisidian *Οὐειούιον* (or *Οὐείουιον*) for Vibium occurs in St. *Wolfe Exp.*, No. 356.

# EPODOS.

A. MARGARET RAMSAY.
JOHN FRASER.
W. BLAIR ANDERSON.

*ἦ τὰ ῥόδα, ῥοδόεσσαν ἔχεις χάριν . . .*

Red roses blow beside your garden door,
Rose-petals strew your arbour's mossy floor,
Their scent is heavy on the idle wind
That scarcely stirs your tresses rose-entwined ;—
But where's the rose-wreath yesterday you wore ?
Can aught from summer's golden chalice pour
Anew the fragrance that was spilled before,
Or make, beyond the space the gods assigned,
Red roses blow ?

Too soon, too soon June's rose-clad grace is o'er ;
What one day takes no morrow shall restore.
Red rose amid the roses ! ah, be kind,
While yet the hurrying days leave love behind,
While yet for one short moon and then no more
Red roses blow.

A. Margaret Ramsay.

"Quod quisque uitet nunquam homini satis
Cautum est in horas."

Debita caelicolis iam uota exsoluit Atrides,
et reditum incolumi fata dedisse putat ;
at, dum credit ouans tandem euasisse pericla,
excipiunt reducem ferrea fata domi.

JOHN FRASER.

ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ομοῖον.

*Χαῖρε καὶ εἰν 'Αϊδέω θαλάμοισι, περικλυτὲ Κῦρε,*
*εὐρυβία Πέρσων τοξοφόρων βασιλεῦ·*
*ἐνθάδε τοι χρόνιος, δολιχὴν ὁδὸν ἐκπεροώσας*
*'Ιονίου προλιπὼν ἠιόνας πελάγους,*
*εὐσεβέως σὸν μνῆμ' ἀσπάζομαι, ἴσθι δέ μ' ὄντα*
*τοὔνομ' 'Αλέξανδρον, κεἰμὶ γένος Μακεδών.*

JOHN FRASER.

Νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμών.

*Μειλανίων ποτ' ἀγῶσιν ἐν ὠκυδρόμοις 'Αταλάντην*
*νικήσας φιλίην ἔλλαχεν ἡδύγαμον.*
*φῆ δ' ἄρα μειδιόων πρὸς παρθένον, "ἀργέτι κούρη,*
*ἥκομεν ἐξ ἔριδος κρείσσονες ἀμφότεροι·*
*καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ σ' ἐδάμασσα δρόμοις, σὸν δ' ἔξοχον ἡμᾶς*
*κάλλος ἐνίκησεν καὶ φθάμενον κρατέει."*

W. Blair Anderson.

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